

THE Catholic Mind

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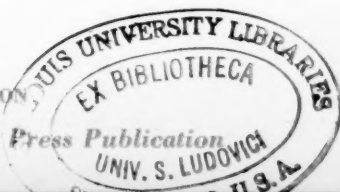
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JULY, 1955

VOL. LIII, NO. 1111

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THE Catholic Mind

VOL. LIII

JULY, 1955

NO. 1111

The Genocide Convention

EDWARD CARDINAL MOONEY
Archbishop of Detroit

*Remarks of His Eminence at the 17th annual convention of the Detroit
Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, Detroit, April 2, 1955*

I WAS glad to hear Father Maino [Rev. Herbert A. Maino, Spiritual director of the Archdiocesan Council] refer to the criticism—not widespread, as far as I know, but rather vehement—that has been made of the action at the last convention of the National Council of Catholic Women in favor of the Genocide Convention.

It is for the guidance of this Archdiocesan Council that I take this opportunity to express my mind on this vexatious question.

Frankly, I was surprised to see the criticism arise at this rather late date. The same resolution, in substance, was passed in the N.C.C.W. convention of 1950, and

again in 1952, without enjoying any noteworthy adverse comment.

But to return to the present resolution, I take it for granted that our delegates voted for it, and I want them to know that in doing so they acted in a way which, to my mind, was characterized by prudence and commendable Catholic vision.

They acted prudently because the resolution called for nothing more than resubmission of the Genocide Convention of 1948 to the consideration of the U. S. Senate. In previous consideration of this question, the Senate Judiciary Committee favored affirmative action subject to four "understandings" which

actually amounted to four reservations in the Senate's ratification of the convention. Several of the 48 countries which have ratified the Genocide Convention did so with reservations which safeguarded attitudes they wished to maintain.

Our Detroit delegates acted prudently in as much as they followed the guidance of the staff of the N.C.W.C. department which has competence in such matters. They followed as well the guidance of the Catholic Association for International Peace, which brings together for discussion of international affairs eminent Catholic scholars in the fields of politics and ethics.

This is not to say that the Genocide Convention measures up to our ideals on the question of genocide. It is, in fact, a weak document that provides for no internationally enforceable sanctions. But it is the best that could be obtained in an admittedly confused and imperfect world society. It is, therefore, better than nothing.

ATTITUDE OF HOLY SEE

This last remark leads to the confident assertion that our delegates in recommending affirmative, even if qualified, action on the Genocide Convention found themselves in accord with the attitudes of the Holy See as set forth in many recent documents and particularly in the address of Pope Pius XII to the

Italian Catholic Jurists in December, 1953. It is easy to find in the pronouncements and actions of Pius XII a qualified approval of the United Nations Organization and its various agencies as the best that is attainable in our ideologically and religiously divided world of today.

He tells us in so many words that the "individual nation no longer is—nor in fact ever was—sovereign in the sense of being without restrictions." Realistically, too, he sees that "peoples and member-states of the international community will be divided into Christians and non-Christians, those who are indifferent to religion or consciously without it or even professed atheists." This fact, it seems to me, should make us tolerant of the lack of explicit Christian motivation in an international agreement like the Genocide Convention.

Significantly, too, the Pope remarks that "the setting up, maintenance and operation of a real community of states, especially one that would embrace all peoples, gives rise to many duties and problems, some of them extremely difficult and complicated, which cannot be solved by a simple 'Yes' or 'No' answer." For all this, it seems to me that we may well welcome even a diffident and halting step like the Genocide Convention as a preparation for what the Pope, in another context,

calls for—a definite “international code of criminal law.”

After all this, someone may well ask: “Is this all we get out of the ratification of the admittedly weak Genocide Convention?”

The answer is: “No.” That ratification throws into the balance of world opinion the immense moral influence of the most powerful nation of the world in defense of racial, ethical and religious groups

that are now in durance vile. It will build up the morale of oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain. It will let them know that we do not forget them. It will inspire them to continue their moral resistance to entrenched tyranny which, for the moment, cannot be dethroned from the outside short of a war that would bring utter ruin to them as well as to their oppressors.



Patience!

Commander John J. Shea of the United States Navy, a great Catholic layman, in a letter to his son, published after he himself had died for his country, wrote: “Be a good Catholic and you cannot help being a good American.” God and his Holy law provide the only solid groundwork for true love of country.

We become impatient because this reasoning is not always accepted, because the demands of distributive justice are not adequately observed, because existing practices seem to us at variance with “the irreducible claims of legitimate liberty.”

We must take care, however, that we do not ourselves offend in charity. We must manifest a Christlike spirit always in dealing with opposite points of view. It ill behooves us to be the first to read into the statements of our critics any devious plans or machinations. Personal pique, short tempers, the inability to take defeats and set-backs are not the qualities we expect in the followers of Christ. As the exponents of a magnificent faith we ought to be able to ask ourselves constantly: “What would the charity of Christ do under these adverse circumstances?”—*Archbishop Leo Binz of Dubuque, retiring president-general, at the closing meeting of the 52nd convention of the National Catholic Educational Association, Atlantic City, April 15, 1955.*

Ethics and Government

JOSEPH F. COSTANZO, S.J.
Georgetown University

*Talk delivered at a District of Columbia session
of the American Political Science Association, December 11, 1954*

PERMIT me to address to you some prefatory remarks which will disclose at the start my attitude to this present discussion. I personally have never subscribed to the general usage and acceptance of the designation "politician" as an unsavory expletive. People will promptly and with pride say: "My father is a doctor, a musician, a sculptor, and so on." Rarely do I hear anyone boast, "my father, my brother, my husband is a politician" except in reference to the occupancy of the highest public offices and even then the reference is to the specific office. The word "politician" is generally in this country (in marked comparison to England) pronounced with a pejorative connotation.

As a disciple of a long tradition that reaches back into the distant past, I conceive of politics and of the politician with serious and differential concern. With Plato I see it as a business "concerning justice," with Cicero as functions of grave

moral obligations, with Suarez as a commission of trust.

Does then the reputation, be it creditable or suspect, of public service and of public servants rest on prevailing conventional ethos, on the quality of contemporary mores, or shall we look for a reason prior to and above purely human estimates? I find in the theology and moral philosophy of politics the inward meaning of government service and the first principles and foundation of this discussion. Plato's ruler possessed justice in the philosophic vision of the eternal Good. We have it in the knowledge of the Divine Good.

In the divine derivation of public governance we find the necessary point of departure for the consideration of Ethics and Politics. Civil Society is ultimately of divine origination and it is instituted by human consent through the rational promotions of the law of man's social and political nature. Edmund Burke has expressed with extraordinary

economy of words the theological quality and high moral endowment of civil society:

He who gave our nature to be perfected by virtue, willed also the necessary means of its perfection. He willed therefore the state. He willed its connection with the source and original archetype of all perfection.

And again:

All power is of God; and He, who has given the power, and from whom alone it originates, will never suffer the exercise of it to be practised upon any less solid foundation than the power itself. If then the dominion of man over man is the effect of the divine disposition, it is bound by the eternal law of Him who gave it, with which no human authority can dispense.

When I quote Edmund Burke, surely I do not refer to him as a Scriptural exegete or theologian *ex professo* but as one who speaks for the Anglo-American tradition of law and government. That government is ministerial of God in our religious tradition. It starts with the Old Testament and continues in the Pauline Epistle to the Romans. Since our governance is one of representative democracy, our government is also ministerial of men. The trust is doubly vicarious. Public officials then are accountable to God and to men. Public service does not deserve to be held in low esteem except by the cynical secularist.

When the Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia during the

summer months of 1776, it worked to express with the utmost moral accuracy the justification before God and men for the declaration of total separation from English rule. Because men are created equal and divinely endowed with certain original and unalienable rights, they are compelled by an imperious duty to throw off a governance that persists in wronging these self-evident truths. The legitimacy of government rests on the consent of its subjects and it is instituted to prosper their welfare. It is the right of the people to alter or to abolish a form of government that is destructive of this purpose. Because as English subjects the colonists bore in their persons the privileges, liberties and immunities of Englishmen, they possessed in common law the right to refuse to be treated as an inferior class of subjects. The Declaration of Independence rests its validity squarely upon theological, moral and juridical foundations, and these our forefathers called self-evident truths.

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

Our American Constitution also rests foursquare on theological and moral foundations. Though as a juridical document it does not mention God nor the spiritual nature of man, the Constitution presupposes the theology of politics. What is constitutionalism if not a self-imposed

limitation against the potential arrogance of a wholly discretionary or charismatic governance. What is the institutional purpose of the separation of powers if not to secure limitations against presumptive rule? What is due process if not immunity from the arbitrary because men inalienably are inviolable persons?

The American Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment legally affirm the inviolable essence of the human personality. The writ of *habeas corpus* has a theological implication. We may readily say that this writ asserts the right of an individual. But a right presupposes a value and if this value is not born of arbitrary determination, if its origin transcends human construction, then it is outside of the reach of man to cancel. Due process means men are to be treated with reverence even when they are charged with crime. The law does not explicitly declare man is a child of God. But where legal systems have arisen, as in Nazi Germany and in Communist Russia, which implicitly deny that man is a child of God, there is no writ of *habeas corpus*. Negativewise due process is a legal restraint upon that presumption of pride born of Original Sin that the alleged criminal can be mobbed and lynched at popular demand. In theological terms discrimination is a doctrine of election. The supreme tribunal of our land

has not too soon laid the axe to this most pernicious social and political heresy.

MORALITY OF POLITICS

There is a falsehood which obstinately endures that politics is a non-moral area of human activities. Perhaps this is because we are wont to speak of social and political sciences and facilely ignore the vast differential inherent in the analogy between social sciences of human conduct and the positive sciences which have for their object of study non-rational realities. The analogy rests in the metaphysical fact that man was created to the moral image of God and destined to eternal companionship with Him and that the infra-rational universe is an image of the infinite efficacy of God created for the utility and enjoyment of men. Social sciences conclude to generalized expectations which are contingent upon *mores*, morals, motivations, attendant circumstances and the finality of free choice. Physical sciences are fixed to a determined course which, instead of shutting us in on every hand, provides us with the antecedent guarantee that this determinism constitutes the means at our disposal for acting upon things and for obtaining power over them. A knowledge of the laws of things enables us to control them; consequently instead of checking our

freedom, predeterminism makes it efficacious.

Possibly the prevalence of positivism in many of our university halls may account for this confusion of two essentially different sciences.

Another source for the amorality of politics may be the popular notion that politics, like gambling, has an ethics of its own, meaning by ethics not an ethics specifically and immediately pertinent to a particular area of human activity, but a manner of conduct generally agreed to by the participants of the game but which prescind from the universal moral law of God. In this sense politics has a morality, but it is not religious. It is not the arc of reference between God and the human conscience. Certain rules are expected or accepted as *the* practice. Such accepted practices are *mores* and do not constitute the moral law, which derives from God.

But all human conduct is responsibly accountable to God. Without a divine law from above and antecedent to human determination there is no moral obligation binding in conscience. Without God there is no morality. George Washington in his memorable Farewell Address admonished his countrymen against this unnatural severance of morality from religion: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity Religion and Morality are indispensable sup-

ports." And again: "And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be retained without religion . . . reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." Man is wholly religious. Ethics is but the prolongation of metaphysics.

From these theological and moral ultimates of politics, as they have been considered in themselves and as historical insertions into our American "way of life" (to borrow an Aristotelian definition), we advance closer to the practicalities of politics. I am not here concerned with such government activities as our criminal statutes proscribe. The Decalogue, too, I assume to be operative upon the conscience of every public servant within his office as it impinges upon any other human responsibilities. We shall need more than the expedient moralism that "honesty is the best policy." Occasions will arise when moral integrity may run counter to temporal advantages, and to obey God rather than men may visit us with the tribulations of Cardinal Mindszenty. Public propriety is no adequate surrogate for the loyalties of conscience.

Our Congressmen have been sensitive to the moral decline in public service. In 1951, during the first session of the Eighty-second Congress, from the latter half of June

and the early days of July, hearings were conducted before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. At the conclusion of these hearings, wherein prominent witnesses from a diversity of walks of life cast light upon the problem of ethical conduct in government service, the Committee published its Report. The findings and recommendations of the Hearings were topically summarized, and paramount amongst the proposals for the improvement of ethical standards in the Federal Government was one for the establishment of a Commission on Ethics in Government.

Throughout these hearings one recurrent theme was more insistent than the others—the need for a Code of Ethics in Government Service. My personal reaction was rather mixed. True, the utility of rules and codes, general and specific, normative and consequential, should not be denied. They may diminish the claim to ignorance and remove the excuses for culpability and serve as strong deterrents by their consequences. But no set of rules, no matter how wide the comprehension of their providence, can anticipate the countless number of questionable practices likely in government service. Besides there is more than one way to observe the letter of the law and to defeat its spirit.

It still seems to me that the

ultimate answer is remarkably a practical one, namely, the central imperative of a religious conscience. Consider, for example, the revolutionary effect of the commandment "thou shalt not bear false witness" upon campaign speeches. It might erase the sickening flippancy "everything goes in politics." Morality is essentially personal before it reaches out socially. It is always in the particular concrete and its efficacy derives from a conscience sensitive to the laws of God and the religious nature of man. A public servant with such a conscience is endowed with the moral promptitude to work honestly whether he is being watched or not, whether he may be detected or not, whether the temporal gains are worth the denial of what is right or not. His conscience is likely to be his guide rather than his accomplice.

SPECIFIC PROBLEM

The specific problem to which I address myself is that area of activity which is neither morally right nor wrong but questionable because, though the action in itself is innocent, it may subject the government servant to undue influence and/or render him suspect. There are many things which are permissible but which are not always expedient or advisable. I refer to the obvious instance of the receiving of gratuities and association in

certain circumstances with bidders for government contracts. (I sometimes wonder how many of the favors and invitations tendered to our public officials are repeated after contract has not been assigned to the prospective hosts.) Prudence then looms as the characteristic virtue of the public officer.

Ut de agendis recte iudicet. How to act rightly in concrete circumstances. This requires a sense of realism wholly intellectual and moral; it connotes reliability as well as responsibility; it combines an enlightened and informed conscience with a sensitively religious one. The virtue of prudence is central to practical politics. We must beware of the attractive fallacy that men of moral integrity always do the right thing, or that, when something

wrong appears, it must be attributed to an evil intent. This is hopelessly to confound competence with intention.

Centuries ago St. Augustine wrote that people get the sort of government they deserve. This is rather encouraging because it means we can fashion, if we choose, the quality of public service to our moral likeness. St. Augustine taught that the over-all purpose of the state is the prosecution of justice, and half a millennium later St. Thomas taught that the state has for its end the moral perfectibility of its people. There are no loftier objectives within purely human providence. Let us then bring all of our social activities increasingly under the promptings of a religious and informed conscience.



Democracy in Dallas

St. Paul's Hospital, operated by the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, recently became the first major hospital in Dallas, Texas, to open its facilities to Negro doctors. The decision was approved unanimously by the hospital's medical staff of 300 white physicians.

Prior to this action the only hospital open to the Negro doctors was the 15-bed Pinkston Hospital. A check of the other major hospitals in the city indicated that the admission of Negro doctors has not been considered.

We have no doubt that this pioneer step on the part of a Catholic hospital will serve to encourage other hospitals in Dallas and surrounding areas to adopt similar policies. Meantime we extend our heartiest congratulations to Sister Mary Helen, administrator of St. Paul's, and to the white physicians of the medical staff who saw the need and had the courage of their convictions.—*INTERRACIAL REVIEW, New York, N. Y., August, 1954.*

Religion, Culture and Intelligence

THE REV. JOHN W. SIMONS

Reprinted from FOUR QUARTERS*

IN THE years immediately following World War II there was a noticeable trend towards "religion" on the part of the American intelligentsia. So marked was this trend that the editors of the *Partisan Review*—an advanced literary quarterly with pronounced Marxist sympathies—regarded it as "one of the significant tendencies of our time" and decided to conduct a symposium to account for it. In four successive issues of the *Partisan Review* (February, March, April and May-June, 1949) there appeared a series of twenty-nine essays by way of interpretation of the presumed revival. The symposium was entitled "Religion and the Intellectuals." In the following year the essays were published in book form.

The contents of these essays, which have been quoted in many journals throughout the United States and Europe, will be of special interest to the American Catholic. Though he is a member of a minority group within the American community, he is anxious to share fully

in the cultural life of the nation, and he is naturally happy to see a *rapprochement* between intellectual and religious elements within the community. He is tired of being called a "fundamentalist" in the sense in which that word is employed by cultured dilettantes, and he feels affronted when it is presumed that the intellectual life inevitably involves an abjuration of Catholicism.

"Religion and the Intellectuals," fascinating on many counts, is fundamentally disappointing. The two terms of the discussion, *religion* and *intellectual*, are nowhere defined. It is not possible, as a consequence, to determine in any useful sense whether there is a religious trend at all, and as a matter of fact some of the contributors deny that there is. These two words are actually semantic nightmares, and it was elementary to effective discussion that precision be given to the use of these recalcitrant terms. One is constantly forced to *ad hoc* interpretations of doubtful validity.

* La Salle College, Philadelphia 41, Pa., June 15, 1954

The twenty-nine contributors are represented as "leading writers, philosophers and theologians." The only uncertain term here is "writers," since it covers all those, from publicists to poets, whose authority in religious matters cannot be taken seriously. Of course we expect philosophers to be preoccupied with intellectual concerns, and we expect theologians to be preoccupied with religion. Some "religionists" cannot properly be called theologians, since they conceive of God as an irrelevancy in religious matters.

PSEUDO PHILOSOPHERS AND THEOLOGIAN

When a group of contributors on such a topic as "Religion and the Intellectuals" is so presented, I believe it is not unjust for the prospective reader to assume that the viewpoints of the three professions—those of writer, philosopher and theologian—will be fairly evenly distributed. This is far from the case. More than half the contributors will at once be associated with literature and literary studies. A few more will be recognized as political and social critics. Maritain and Dewey are the only contributors who will be unequivocally accepted as philosophers, though adroit verbal maneuver could possibly lure I. A. Richards into the philosophers' camp.

The reader will not recognize the

name of any professional theologian, not at least in the sense in which the word has been traditionally employed. Paul Tillich is regarded as a theologian, but he will not allow that God is a being. Presumably Robert Gorham Davis and Robert Graves, who have a flair for anthropology and comparative religion, are also meant to be accepted as theologians. Mr. Graves, for example, has just published his *Nazarene Gospel Restored*—a work in which, with the most reckless academic irresponsibility, he tries to prove that the Gospels are "irresponsible Greek piracies" and are not to be regarded as authentic accounts of the life of Jesus Christ. Finally, it can be presumed that most social critics like to be called social philosophers. And so it is possible to manipulate the terms *philosopher* and *theologian* in such a way as to create the impression of more or less equal representation. The impression, however, would be a false one.

A further interesting fact is that although a good many of the contributors imply that a return to religion is a return to Catholicism, M. Maritain is the lone Catholic to be granted a hearing. Since the symposium concentrates its attention upon the religious renewal "among intellectuals in the English-speaking countries," it would seem that one American and one English Catholic

might have been asked to join the discussion. (One of the American contributors, Allen Tate, has since become a Catholic. Ed.)

From these inclusions and exclusions one is forced to conclude that in the opinion of the editors of the *Partisan Review* 1) religion is a phenomenon belonging to sociology rather than to philosophy or theology, and 2) American Catholicism has no trustworthy intellectual spokesman. If the points of view which are sustained by the contributors to the symposium are truly representative of the attitude of American intellectuals towards religion, Catholicism in America will look in vain for cultural allies. The alternatives would seem to be the introverted life of an intellectual ghetto or an escape into a new Thebaid.

Where is a Catholic intellectual to find comfort in statements like the following? "The concept of the supernatural is a disease of religion" (Robert Graves). There can be religion if it "is free from dependence on the supernatural" (John Dewey). "That God exists does not entail that God is good" (Sidney Hook). One feels better disposed towards those contributors who, like Isaac Rosenfeld and James T. Farrell, frankly say that they are naturalists than towards the contributors who perform impossible verbal feats in order to hold on to religion while re-

jecting God. Of the twenty-nine contributors, twenty do not believe in God or are agnostic. Of the remaining nine, only four—W. H. Auden, Marianne Moore, Jacques Maritain and Allen Tate—state their belief in God in an unambiguous way.

Alfred Kazin has great respect for what he calls the "religious consciousness" but cannot bend his own consciousness "to the authority of any organized religion." William Barrett cannot tolerate dogma but lays claim to a sudden Leibnitzian conversion. Dwight MacDonald is willing to grant the existence of God "as a working hypothesis." Henry Bamford Parkes believes in God but will have no truck with dogma. For Robert Gorham Davis, God exists, but as a psychic projection of the individual ego.

By this time my own readers can be forgiven if they have lost track of the purposes of the symposium. Its object was not to take a poll of the contributors' beliefs. It was to solicit their opinions on the admitted trend towards religion among intellectuals. Now, since the overwhelming majority of the contributors, although having no religious beliefs, will want to retain their reputation as intellectuals, it will be their temptation either to presume that those who have been converted are not intellectuals, or to invent techniques to explain away the alleged renaissance of religion.

To these alternatives most of the contributors have acquiesced. One of the most persistent innuendoes in the symposium is that intelligence and Christianity are incompatible. Douglas Knight, in a searching critique of "Religion and the Intellectuals" (*Sewanee Review*, Autumn, 1950), was quick to recognize that many of the contributors "have in common the implicit conviction that there is a kind of logical treachery . . . involved in being an 'intellectual' and a religious man at the same time." When A. J. Ayer says that religion is intellectually condemned because its account of the world is unscientific, or when Philip Rahv says that belief in God is not the leading motive in the "back-to-religion movement" (the expression is Mr. Rahv's), we have the bleak assurance that some intellectuals can be intellectually unprepossessing.

The strategies invented to explain away the "new turn toward religion" are always interesting and sometimes droll. It is, we are assured, a passing phenomenon, a "puff of the *Zeitgeist*." It was brought about chiefly through panic, a "failure of intellectual nerve" following in the wake of the temporary embarrassment of science. It is a kind of infantilism, a "hunt for the father," an obscure nostalgia for the "conditions of the womb."

With men of letters the case is

somewhat different. Many of them have turned to myth—which, thanks to a marriage of convenience between anthropology and psychoanalysis, is now equated with religion—for a much-needed stimulus to inspiration. Myth, having acquired a new prestige, has become the marijuana of the muses. James Agee, however, has recourse to a more original stratagem. "I suggest," he says solemnly, "that there may be a phase roughly equivalent to menopause during which men are especially liable to conversion." He hastens to add that "there is no room to discuss the matter here."

Mr. Agee's "suggestion" lacks the sweeping simplicity of Sidney Hook's "failure of nerve." The Agee formula accounts for the conversion of only middle-aged male "intellectuals." How is he to account for the conversion of younger men like Merton, the poet, and Simon, the psychiatrist? The fact that they were both twenty-six years old at the time of their conversion ought to set the Agee brain spinning on some theory of numbers.

UNRECOGNIZABLE CARICATURE

It would require a book almost as large as the symposium itself to air all the gratuitous assertions, illogical inferences and semantic trickeries which are to be found in these articles. If the reader were to isolate those passages which concern Cath-

olicism, the resultant mosaic would be an unrecognizable caricature. The truth is that many of these intellectuals have not seriously examined Christianity. R. P. Blackmur, whose practice as a literary critic is one of the utmost scrupulosity, actually invents a religion which has existence only in his own mind. He criticizes all historical religions against his preconception, but there can be no valid criticism when the norm itself is a fiction. The notion of God is no paltry thing, and the man who can ransack dictionaries, encyclopedias and sundry books of reference to explain fully Emily Dickinson's use of the word "phosphor" could be expected to give a less cursory examination to the "Name which is above all names." "In our time," says Mr. Blackmur, "we call what we do not believe supernatural, but most people who take to it do not bother about belief at all." The expense of criticism has been even greater than Mr. Blackmur imagines.

It would be possible to assemble a canon of sacred scriptures from the works most frequently quoted in the symposium. The canon would include Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Freud's *Totemism and Taboo*, Lea's *History of the Medieval Inquisition*, William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, Ernest Troeltsch's *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, and assorted readings

from John Dewey. St. Thomas Aquinas is referred to several times, once in connection with his "clear if defective reasons," and once in connection with Dante's supposedly heretical concept of the resurrection of the body.

IRRESPONSIBLE INTELLECTUALS

Now, I submit that religion in general, and Catholicism in particular, is not well served by these "classic" authors. Indeed, the whole notion of European culture and our indebtedness to it could not possibly be grasped by a study of men whose whole mental outlook has been shaped in a post-Christian environment. If Christian religion and culture are viewed through these alien eyes, the composite idea which emerges will be a travesty of the real thing. And it is, in fact, a myth rather than a reality which many of these intellectuals oppose. One cannot say that these critics, even if they had a more objective picture of Christianity, would place a high value on the discovery. But they would at least be able to avoid the charge which can now be justly leveled against them—that of being irresponsible intellectuals.

The symposium, then, is a very depressing document. If it is at all representative of the American intellectual's attitude toward religion, there can be little hope of that *rapprochement* between intellectual and

religious elements in our society which we had anticipated. There is, however, the suspicion that the symposium is not really representative, and that the editors of the *Partisan Review* extended their chief hospitality to those writers who would most zealously reason away "the new turn to religion." It is certainly true that, despite all their zeal, the stubborn reality remains.

NEED FOR ARTICULATE CATHOLIC INTELLECTUALS

It needs no such evidence as that which we have been reviewing to remind Catholic intellectuals that their voice is unheard or unregarded in American academic circles. The fact that the superficial documentation of a Blanshard can be accepted as "scientific" and "scholarly" by those whose knowledge of Western history and thought ought to have been more discerning is proof enough that Catholicism—even as an idea or a cultural force—is not seriously regarded by many who consider themselves intellectuals. The naiveté of American scholarship in the matter of Christian culture needs to be redeemed, and the agents of this redemption must be articulate Catholic intellectuals. We cannot afford to dwell in a catechumbal solitude or to lament in isolation the ignorance we have done so little to dissipate. We need to cultivate more strenuously the life of the

mind and to bring the rich resources of Christian culture into the foreground of American life.

If, as many observers believe, the hegemony of Western culture is being thrust upon the United States, Catholic intellectuals cannot supinely acquiesce to a state of affairs in which those who are to be the protagonists in the drama for the preservation of Western culture are indifferent or hostile to the Faith which has been the greatest single vital force in the creation of that culture. Hitherto Catholics in the United States have had but a limited awareness of their cultural responsibilities. All sorts of attempts have been made to justify our lassitude in artistic creation, and the arguments advanced have not been without a certain cogency.

But even the most cogent of them—relative closeness to immigrant origins, polylingual ancestry, inferior economic position, the necessarily pragmatic aims of a pioneering educational system—have for some time ceased to be impressive. We live and we prosper, and already an enervated Europe is casting half-hopeful, half-quizzical glances in our direction. Whatever the cause, it is impossible to ignore the impression, often recorded by European observers, that American Catholicism has an endemic suspicion of literature, that we are somehow implicated in a psychological Jansen-

ism, and that our dealings with art and artists are hampered by an obvious *malaise*. This is not to deny to the arts their power of hypnosis or seduction. There is abundant proof that Satan has used the refinements of art in his perverse apostolate. But this is only to confess that artists need to work under the aegis of the Holy Spirit, and that a complete literary criticism needs the precisions of philosophy and theology. We give comfort to the secularists when we decamp or refuse to parley.

I am well aware that literature and art are but two aspects of cultural life, and that religious values have primacy over them. If, then, in order to effect the higher spiritual purposes of the Christian Faith these two cultural values had to be sacrificed, I should be content. As Mauriac reminds us, "Truth can get along without men of letters." But I am not convinced of the necessity of this harsh bargain. If truth can get along without letters, it can get along better in their company. Some time ago, Evelyn Waugh, in a widely discussed article which appeared in *Life Magazine*, noted the relative absence of Catholic writers in the United States. But this did not disconcert him. "Writers," he said, "merely decorate." Such a statement seems to me petty and perverse.

Homer and Dante, Cervantes and Dostoyevsky, do not decorate merely. They focus a vision of a race or culture; they give a people knowledge of itself; and sometimes they give civilization a new direction or dimension.

When writers merely decorate we get, at best, something like a Pope or a LaFontaine; at worst, something like a Horace Walpole. America does not need litterateurs, but artists. And Catholic America needs artists whose rich cultural heritage so profoundly infuses their work that even the most opaque mind cannot resist its splendor. There is, then, a cultural apostolate awaiting the young intellectuals of our day and country. Those whose gifts, scholarship and intelligence—fructified from within by the action of the Holy Spirit—qualify to engage in this adventure must be ready to jettison those values and reject those prizes so prodigally advertised and awarded by a materialist society. Then a day may come when no symposium will be needed either to explain or explain away the alliance between intelligence and religion or between religion and culture. It is the schism between them which is the true anomaly; it is the non-believing intellectual who is the genuine eccentric. The *Partisan Review's* symposium is proof of that.

Turnabout at Bandung

*An editorial reprinted from the New York TIMES**

THE Bandung conference of twenty-nine Asian and African countries, attended by some of the major participants for the purpose of indicting the West for its alleged "colonialism, racism and imperialism," started with a dramatic turnabout which dispels any notion that Asia and Africa speak with one voice, or that any one leader dares presume to speak for them. Instead of indicting the West, the initial speakers drew up a powerful indictment on these same issues against the Communist Powers and marshaled facts which the West has long since recognized but which are still too little known in the two underdeveloped continents.

The anti-Communist indictment was in the nature of a counter-attack to head off an anticipated drive by the Communists to exploit for their own ends any attacks against the West on these issues and to misuse the conference as a front organization which would prepare the ground for further Communist expansion. The counterattack was sparked by Dr. Fadhil al-Jamali of Iraq, who reviewed the history of Communist aggression in Europe and Asia and denounced Communism as a "subversive religion" and "a new form of colonialism much deadlier than the old."

He was followed by Gen. Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines, who warned Asia and Africa against surrendering to "a new super-barbarism, a new super-imperialism, a new super-power" which crushes freedom wherever it expands. Delegates from Iran, Thailand, South Vietnam and Pakistan took the same line. Pakistani Premier Ali in particular undertook to supplement the generalities of the "five principles" propounded by Chinese Communist Premier Chou as a basis of "coexistence" with his own "seven pillars of peace," which proclaim the right to individual or collective self-defense and call for the settlement of all international disputes, which would include Formosa, by peaceful means.

As a basis for their indictment of Communism, the speakers were

* 229 W. 43rd Street, New York 36, N. Y., April 20, 1955

able to point out that the Western Powers have been gradually abandoning their imperialism and have freed during and since the war no less than fourteen now independent countries with a combined population of more than 600 million people. During this same period the Communists have enslaved no less than sixteen nations, or parts of nations, with a combined population approaching 700 million. The countries liberated from colonial rule by the West comprise India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia, South Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Formosa, Libya, Ethiopia and the Sudan. In contrast, the following countries or parts of them have been converted by conquest or subversion into Communist colonies—in Asia: China, Tibet, North Korea, North Vietnam, Tannu Tuva, Mongolia; in Europe: Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany, with Eastern Austria now hoping to emerge from that status.

Confronted with such facts, Premier Chou of Communist China abandoned his prepared speech and offered "unity" and friendship to all nations except the United States. He accused the United States of being the cause of international tension and attempting to "subvert" China. He also proclaimed Communist China's determination to "liberate" Formosa and to demand a seat in the United Nations. But seeing the hopelessness of getting support from the conference, which under the rules must be unanimous, he agreed not to force these issues, and to seek instead some "common ground" to achieve his ends.



Conditions in Russia

The Soviet regime is so abnormal in its very essence that in judging it criteria applicable to other states and social systems cannot be used. A severe agrarian crisis, for instance, would be a definite sign of weakness in any other state. Yet the Soviet Union has been living with this cancer inside its body throughout the last quarter of a century and has survived a murderous war. Is the unpopularity of a regime a sign of weakness? In any normal political body it would be. The Soviet regime has been hated by large sections of the population since its inception. Yet it is still alive and kicking. The weaknesses are there, no doubt, but they do not provide an easy answer to the question about the durability of the regime. There is no reason for an easy optimism.—TABLET, (London), March 12, 1955.

Catholics and Asian Unity

VINCENT S. KEARNEY, S.J.
Associate Editor of AMERICA

*Address to the Catholic Association for International Peace,
Washington, D. C., November 12, 1954*

SEVERAL months ago in Manila the representatives of eight nations, some Eastern, some Western, met round a conference table and initialed a mutual defense treaty modeled to a certain extent on NATO. The purpose of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) was to set up a shield against Communist aggression for what is left of Free Asia. Its significance lay in the fact that for the first time since the end of World War II nations of both East and West were able to agree that both worlds have a community of interest in Asia.

The SEATO conferences, however, were only a beginning to the long arduous task which lies ahead. The agreement signed at Manila left much to be desired. Of the eight nations represented only three could properly be called Asian—Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand. The moving force of the meetings was not Eastern. The impulse came from the West. Many Asian nations op-

posed it from the very beginning. The net result of the Manila conferences, far from proclaiming a universal Asian unity, only served to call attention to the lack of unity in the area.

For most Americans this lack of unity, when the issues which face us in the world today are so clear-cut, is hard to understand. It will be my purpose in this paper to go into the elements which make for divisiveness in the Asia of today, not so much to criticize as to attempt an explanation in order that out of mutual understanding may come what I would call, perhaps presumptuously, a common-sense attitude toward Asia.

We face two problems in our relationship to modern Asia. One we know. It is the problem of the slow and steady advance of Communism which threatens to enslave the whole continent. I am not so sure that most Americans are aware of the second problem or, if they are aware of it, of its magnitude. It has com-

plicated our approach to the first problem and has become a potent divisive force in this most critical area of the world. I speak of the neutralism or third-forcism which determined the absence from the Manila conference of countries representing more than half the population of the continent.

NEUTRALISM

From the viewpoint of the Asian nations concerned, neutralism is perhaps a bad term. Ideologically speaking, none of the free nations of Asia is neutral. They have already made their choice between the totalitarian form of government and the democratic way of life. Neutralism can perhaps best be defined as the refusal of these nations to join in any type of formal alliance which could be interpreted as taking sides in the cold war. It is the product of what we would call fuzzy thinking insofar as it is inclined to look on the cold war as merely a struggle between two power blocs. It renders difficult, if not impossible, the erection of a successful counterbalance to aggressive Communism in Asia.

Criticism of Asian neutralism is a futile pastime. Most countries in that vast crescent which stretches from the Mediterranean to the South China Sea are determined to chart their own course in this turbulent world. That is a fact with which

we have to live and, therefore, a fact which we have to understand if we are to approach the problem of Asian unity successfully. Disagreement does not preclude understanding.

The most obvious question in regard to Asian neutralism is, of course, why? The usual stock answer is too simplified to be any longer valid. The contention that Asian aloofness from the West is really the product of Asian fears of the revival of colonialism no longer holds water. Save for a few remaining vestiges, colonialism is through in Asia. No intelligent Asian looks upon it any longer as a threat to his personal dignity and independence or to the freedom and sovereignty of his country.

Another stock answer is to attribute Asian neutralism to short-sighted leadership—with specific reference to such men as India's Prime Minister Nehru, the leading exponent of the policy on the continent. That is equally false. As a spot-check of the political opposition in India will show, Mr. Nehru is not alone in his convictions. While he is severely criticized for certain phases of internal policy, no one takes issue with the Prime Minister on the grounds of foreign policy. If he announced tomorrow that India was about to sign a treaty of alliance with the United States, he would provoke a storm of protest

from members of Parliament down to the humblest villager.

Clews as to the real source of Asian neutralism might be derived from the questions any visiting journalist is likely to be asked. Why has the constitutional reform promised in Malaya, which is designed to give the country its independence, been so long delayed? Why do Britain and the other European powers side with Portugal on the issue of Goa? Why should it be the business of the United States to be concerned over the success of the Vietminh in Indo-China?

Such questions do not betray a fear of colonialism. They do, however, betray resentment—resentment that after the wholesale abandonment of colonialism since the end of World War II traces, or imagined traces, should remain under the “pretext” of building a barrier against Communism.

SEATO

Similar criticism is leveled at the Southeast Asian defense pact on the grounds that initiative for collective action in Asia always seems to come from the West. Cast the objections of neutralist Asia to SEATO against the background of what recently happened in Guatemala and you might get a question like this: “How would the United States like it if a group of Asian nations took it upon themselves to initiate a de-

fense alliance among the countries of South America?”

It may be interesting at this point to cite the impressions of a responsible Indian journal of opinion, the *Eastern Economist*, on SEATO. In its issue of Sept. 17, 1954, it states:

SEATO, as far as Indian and possibly most of Southeast Asian opinion is concerned, has got off to a bad start. Secondly, while SEATO does contribute to the security of these nations which resent its coming, the security it gives is ranked lower than the dangerous incursion of a new type of colonialism in the form of military pressure concluded without the acquiescence of Southeast Asia powers. Thirdly, if nothing is done to remove the sense of injury which the Southeast Asian powers feel at this incursion, there will inevitably be a new attempt to examine the opportunities for collaboration between Southeast Asian powers and the People's Republic, which can only be detrimental to the larger interests of the West. If all these misfortunes are to be avoided, it is obvious that the West needs to make a new approach to Asian opinion. This should have been made before and not after the signing of SEATO, but it is better made late than never.

Asians are inclined to be suspicious from the start of any Western overture. The neutralists of Asia regard any participation in Western-sponsored collective security, not as a move in protection of independence, but as a sacrifice of independence. Thus the India-Burma-Indonesian group no longer considers

Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand as wholly independent.

In Asia, therefore, we are confronted with an alarming gulf of opinion among democratic-minded people all of whom share an equal dislike of totalitarianism. As a result Asia is divided into three blocs, where common sense would dictate the existence of two, the Communist and anti-Communist.

U.S. ISOLATIONISM

India is the outstanding example of the neutralist approach to the problem of Asia. Indians take great satisfaction in pointing out the striking parallel between the foreign policy of their country today and that of the United States from the late 18th century up to the beginning of World War II. Historic parallels often limp. The comparison does falter in this case, since never before has the world been faced with the diabolical conspiracy against freedom it faces today. Yet, the elements of similarity in modern India's neutralist attitude and the attitudes which shaped our own policy of isolationism during those long years are worth study if we are to understand India's position today.

The United States came into being during a period of revolutionary crisis. Our own country was the product of revolution. The year 1789 witnessed the fall of the French

monarchy. During the first four presidencies in the United States the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars were in full swing in Europe. During that period France and Britain each worked tirelessly to swing the new North American nation into its orbit. Americans developed contradictory viewpoints and, just as in India today, American labeled American as a foreign puppet.

It was against this background that Washington made his famous Farewell Address:

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . . A passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. . . . 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.

One hundred and fifty years later Prime Minister Nehru is expressing similar sentiments in the Indian Parliament.

Then, in the early 19th century, with the collapse of Napoleon, South American countries took advantage of the strife in Europe to throw off the colonial yoke of Spain and Portugal. They proclaimed their independence. We, who had so recently cut the bond with England, gave these countries our encouragement and support. After the peace, Spain and Portugal, backed by the Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia and Austria, sought to reimpose their

authority over the South American nations. The British were opposed.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Just as both blocs in today's cold war seek the support of India, so the Russian-led Holy Alliance and the British sought the support of the United States. At the time the United States was a weak military power. Our moral influence, however, was great throughout the world, much as is India's today. Our moral indignation at the thought of becoming a pawn in world power politics took expression in the now famous Monroe Doctrine. In the language of John Quincy Adam's *Diary*:

[The occasion presented] a suitable and convenient opportunity for us to take our stand against the Holy Alliance and at the same time to decline the overture of Great Britain. It would be more candid, as well as more dignified, to avow our principles explicitly to Russia than to come in as a cockboat in the wake of the British man-of-war . . .

In 1823, therefore, President Monroe proposed his famous doctrine:

The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different . . . from that of America. . . . It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either American continent without endangering our peace and happiness. . . . It is equally impossible therefore that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference.

In the October 1954 issue of *Foreign Affairs* Chester Bowles, our former Ambassador to India, who has on more than one occasion made use of this parallelism between American isolationism and Indian neutralism to explain the mind of India to the people of this country, notes the significance of the Monroe Doctrine:

Thus early in its history the United States acted upon a basic axiom of world politics, one often ignored later on: that neutrality and non-alignment are not achieved for the wishing; and that an ounce of timely, constructive, peaceful involvement may save many times that amount of tragic bloody involvement later.

Whether or not India will take that ounce of timely, constructive, peaceful involvement taken by President Monroe almost 150 years ago must await her own initiative. For the moment this much can be said: India will not "come in as a cockboat in the wake of the American man-of-war." Nehru has made that clear enough.

Thus, whatever is to be said of the neutralism of India and of the other likeminded countries of Asia, it is a mistake to regard her policy as a product of oriental perverseness or of sheer blind ignorance of the significance of Communism. It is a carefully calculated product of history, circumstances and thoughtful minds. India is convinced that non-involvement is the only way to keep what she prefers to call a

"power struggle" from exploding into a world conflagration at her very doorstep. Perhaps the only development which could shake the convictions of India would be a clear-cut case of Communist aggression against any one of the newly independent nations of Asia. That the free world should have to wait for that is a pity. That it might then be too late would, indeed, be a tragedy.

In our assessment of Indian foreign policy we should not forget another lesson of our own past history. The 150 years of our isolationism marked the period of our greatest economic and industrial development. Free from the "foreign entanglements" warned against by Washington, we were able to concentrate on internal problems of expansion and so develop into the most powerful nation on earth. Looking back we must not only admit that our policy then was both logical and understandable. It was also a necessary expression of our vital interests.

INDIA HAS INTERNAL PROBLEMS TO SOLVE

India is in an identical position today. As a fledgling nation India faces internal problems of greater magnitude than we have ever experienced. Our industrial expansion has kept abreast of our population growth. India's must catch up with

hers to provide standards of living compatible with human dignity for a nation which is already bursting at the seams. The speed with which she is able to solve her internal economic problems will have a far-reaching effect not only on her own future but on the future of Asia. In a very real sense whether or not all Asia goes Communist in the next few years depends on India's ability to pull herself up by her own bootstraps. In the meantime India is convinced that she cannot be distracted from her internal problems by the demands foreign alliances would place upon her, especially if they be military in nature.

The free world also has a stake in the rapid development and industrialization of India. For today India and the rest of Southeast Asia are a gigantic testing ground in which the efficiency of the democratic way of life is being matched with the efficiency of the totalitarian system of Communist China. Whichever way of life first proves itself capable of increasing production and raising living standards is the more likely to sway the minds and hearts of the common man in Asia, who knows little and cares less about ideologies. India's ability to surpass or at least equal the development of Red China will determine her ability to survive as a free nation. If India fails, the rest of Asia goes.

The most dangerous attitude for the free world to take, therefore, would be to underestimate what is going on behind the closed doors of China. Whatever the cost in terms of human rights or liberties, there is no doubt that Red China is moving ahead in her program of economic construction. Indeed, the fact that her progress is at the cost of human rights and liberties gives her the advantage over India. India cannot command forced labor. She cannot proceed ruthlessly with flood-control projects as China has done in the Huai River valley, where as many as 2 million Chinese have literally worked with their hands. India cannot determine for her young men which shall become doctors, which engineers, which agriculturalists. She cannot demand that her people accept indefinitely what happens to be one of the lowest living standards in the world, while she pours her industrial output back into industry.

In short, India must rely on the democratic way of doing things. It is this which makes her Five Year Plan so unique. It was conceived in a democratic manner, approved by a democratic Parliament, administered by a democratic government in an atmosphere of constant democratic criticism.

The terminal date of India's Five Year Plan is March, 1956. At about that time the political leaders of

India will begin their campaigns for the next general elections. The success of the Congress Party will depend not on how many power plants the present Government of India has been able to provide, but on whether or not the party has succeeded in retaining the loyalty of the Indian people. The Communist party in Red China does not have to face competition on those terms.

Thus, the fact that India shies away from military commitments in the face of the danger to the free world should not provoke wonderment. India is guided in her convictions by the persuasive argument that she cannot afford to devote a sizable portion of her budget to military expansion when her pressing need is economic development.

NOT BY FORCE ALONE

This is a basic reason why each time we flex our muscles in Asia, as successful as this maneuver has been in Europe, we provoke loud cries of protest among the needy, undeveloped nations of Asia. Force alone cannot solve Asia's Communist problem.

We need not rely on India alone to establish that sheer militarism does not provide the answer. If Indo-China and the tragic consequences of the Geneva Agreement prove anything it is this—the barracks-room mentality will not influence the people of Asia. Their

primary concern is social, political and economic independence.

During the eight-year conflict in Indo-China the United States poured \$3 billion worth of aid into the French Union's military effort. June of this year saw the military defeat of the Franco-Vietnamese forces and the diplomatic defeat of the West at Geneva. Why?

Vietnam was lost as long ago as 1945. In the period between the Japanese occupation of the country and the French attempt to reassert colonial domination, the Communist Vietminh seized the initiative and ostensibly emerged as the strongest force for independence in Vietnam. The leaders of the movement succeeded in softpedaling the Communist orientation of the Vietminh. So successful were they that the majority of the country's 2 million Catholics made common cause with them in the sense that they were as nationalistic as anyone else. A 1947 article by a missionary in the *Bulletin des Missions* notes:

In the struggle for independence the pastors of Annam [Vietnam] have not hesitated to affirm that Catholics, far from showing themselves luke-warm or indifferent, should on the contrary display an ardent patriotism. They have reminded their flocks that they have not only the right but the duty to be in the front lines in the struggle, that in that way they will remain faithful to Christ and to their country. . . . The Annamese Catholic community with its 1,500 priests and its two mil-

lion faithful has not hesitated to follow the lesson of its bishops. It has shouldered its responsibilities. No other proof of this is needed than the spontaneous attitude of the Catholic youth of Hanoi, who themselves provided the government troops with several "shock" battalions.

It is not my purpose here to go into the complicated course of events which have resulted in the Communist domination of North Vietnam and the extreme likelihood of a Communist victory in the divided South, but simply to point out that an exclusively military approach to the problem of Asian Communism which ignores the national aspirations of a people is bound to fail in the end.

SUSPICION AND DISTRUST

Asia is in the throes of a socio-political upheaval, complicated by a fierce will for independence, by resentment over long years of colonial domination and by an intense desire to live its own life free from the demands and commitments the Western world would put upon it in this critical period of world history. Our every approach to this Asia is met with suspicion and distrust.

The suspicion and distrust do not have roots only in political and economic considerations. Cultural divisiveness has steadily increased in post-war Asia and presents another almost insurmountable stumbling block.

For generations the white man has been telling the Asian that he has come to him not for personal profit but for the uplift of the "brown man," to introduce him to the blessings of Western civilization. No one is more aware of the hypocrisy of such assertions than the Asian himself. Now that the white man is coming to Asia under the guise of saving Asia from Communist aggression, a wave of suspicion arises from Suez to the Sea of Japan.

It may be interesting at this point to probe the Asian's understanding of this "blessed" Western civilization. Many outspoken Asians, filled with a sense of the moral superiority they feel the cultural history of Asia gives them, are firmly convinced that the Western world is inhabited by racially prejudiced warmongers who measure culture and civilization by the number of atom bombs and bathtubs they can produce. It may be surprising to know that, as we make efforts to save them from Marxist materialism, so they yearn to provide us with a stiff dose of Asian spirituality.

And so still another force blocks mutual cooperation and understanding — the conviction on the part of Asians that there is a complete ignorance of spiritual, moral and cultural values in the West, and that they alone possess these qualities, which, more than "war-mongering,"

will contribute to peace and stability in the world. It has been my experience to have non-Christian Asians identify with Christianity the very materialistic aspects of Western civilization we ourselves, as Catholics, must deplore. In many instances the West has no one but itself to blame for this unreasoned attitude.

As a consequence many articulate Asian critics of Western civilization tend to criticize Christianity itself as non-Asian. In a Manila radio address in April, 1954, Raul S. Manglapus, presently Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs in the Philippine Government, while exploring Asian criticism of Filipino culture, had this to say:

Tested under this stringent formula, Christianity is ruled out for being an improper ingredient in our culture, because, though it has provided a solid basis for our *mores* and our way of life, although it has given a meaning to our existence, although it has taught us to love our fellow man, although it was, in fact, born in Asia and therefore was originally Asian, it was unfortunately brought to us by non-Filipinos and, what to these observers is apparently fatal, by non-Asians.

It takes only one step in arguing from such premises to reach the conclusion that Christianity is unwelcome in this area of the world, which has become the testing ground in the anti-Communist struggle. The current agitation in

India which aims at the exclusion of Christian missionaries is a striking manifestation of this frame of mind.

THE CHURCH IN ASIA

It must be remembered that the Church in South and Southeast Asia is relatively an infant Church. It is not struggling for survival so much as struggling to expand and to make its voice heard as possessing a solution to the social and economic problems confronting the area.

Outside the Philippines, South Vietnam is the one country where a Catholic occupies the responsible position of government. The Premier of South Vietnam is a man thoroughly imbued with Christian social principles. Yet dissension and factionalism, with religious as well as political overtones, have thus far made it impossible to effect the economic, political and social reforms so necessary if the rest of Vietnam is to remain free. (It cannot be stressed too strongly that if, two years hence, the entire country should choose to go behind the Iron Curtain, it will be the first gain scored by Communism in this post-war world as a result of ostensibly free elections.)

I say this not wishing to detract from the heroic work of our missionaries in these lands. The labor movement sponsored by Father Wal-

ter Hogan, S. J. in Manila has done much to help bring stability, order and justice to a country not so long ago threatened by the almost successful Huk movement. India's ISO under the leadership of Father Jerome D'Souza, S. J. is in the front-line of the anti-Communist struggle in India. The various fields of endeavor in which our missionaries are engaged proceed apace. Yet, as the Holy Father noted in his Lenten discourse in 1945, there will be no solution to the economic and social crisis of our times till all men "are united by truly human solidarity and by a real divine Christian charity." That time has not yet come in Asia.

In view of the economic, political and social forces which seek to divide a world which needs unity and solidarity more than ever, and in view of the fact that the United States has had the onus of initiative in the post-war world thrust upon it, it is extremely important that Americans in general adopt a proper attitude toward Asia. As far as Catholics are concerned, Pope Pius XII pointed out in an address to a Catholic Action Summer School group in July, 1952 that the international "situation imposes a duty on the Church and on Catholics the world over, which requires vigilant attention and serious concern."

Catholics in the first place are extraordinarily well-equipped to collab-

orate in the creation of a climate without which a common action on the international plane can have neither substance nor prosperous growth. We mean an atmosphere of mutual understanding, the basic elements of which may be described in terms of mutual respect, or two-way loyalty, which impels people sincerely to accord to others the same rights they claim for themselves; and of a kindly disposition towards the members of other nations as towards their own brothers and sisters.

The Catholics of the world should be precisely the people to live always in this atmosphere. They are themselves united in the full richness of their Faith—and therefore in what is for man his noblest, most intimate, most controlling interest—no less than in the spreading of that Faith to social and economic life. Catholics are likewise well trained from their childhood to look upon all men, of whatever zone or nation or color, as creatures and images of God, redeemed by Christ and called to an eternal destiny; to pray for them and to love them. There is no other group of human beings so favorably disposed, in breadth and in depth, for international understanding.

By the same token, of course, Catholics are saddled with a great responsibility. That is to say, they above all must realize that they are called upon to overcome every vestige of nationalistic narrowness and to seek a genuine fraternal encounter of nation with nation.

To His Holiness, therefore, the necessary precondition for successful international relations is the creation of understanding between nations.

How much this understanding is necessary is only too clear to the visiting journalist who spends a few months in the region of South and Southeast Asia. The predicament we face there becomes all too obvious. We have been lavish in our expenditures of money, earnestness and good-will. Yet we have failed to build a firm barrier against Communism, the presumed purpose of our policy. What we have been trying to do is really a political impossibility, for the sovereign nations of Asia will not permit an *American-directed* anti-Communist front in their countries.

We can criticize Asian neutralism on the grounds that it is not only unrealistic in the present state of world tension but also on the grounds that, under certain conditions which we see verified in the world today, it is actually in contravention of sound moral principles. In his 1948 Christmas message, the present Pontiff made himself clear on the issues involved in the post-war world:

A people threatened with unjust aggression, or already its victim, may not remain passively indifferent, if it would think and act as befits Christians. All the more does the solidarity of the family of nations forbid others to behave as spectators, in an attitude of apathetic neutrality. Who will measure the harm already caused in the past by such indifference to war of aggression, which is quite alien to the Christian instinct? How much more

keenly is it brought home to the "great" and especially to the "small" the sense of their insecurity? Has it brought any advantage in recompense? On the contrary; it has only reassured and encouraged the authors and fomenters of aggression, while it obliges the several peoples, left to themselves, to increase their armaments indefinitely.

As any moral theologian will admit, the application of the broad moral principle to the individual circumstance oftentimes gives rise to disagreement. Transfer the experience to the perplexing field of international relations and the application of moral principles becomes even more complex. We must understand that we cannot dictate our understanding of moral values any more than we can determine the foreign policies of states whose right to freedom and independence we have set ourselves up as the champion.

Recognition of this fact will tend to submerge the characteristic craving of the American for the pat and easily-packaged answer. There is no pat answer in Asia. We have been spoiled these post-war years by the success of specific measures, such as the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and NATO, which have halted the tide of Communism in Europe. These, however, are remedies fashioned in the European mold, designed to help peoples whose cultural backgrounds are the same as our own. European-tested

remedies have no guarantee of success in Asia. There we must patiently settle down to the long haul. Only by devoting our attention to the longer view can we hope to contribute to the peace and stability we seek.

MUST ACCOMMODATE TO ASIAN ATTITUDES

It is of primary importance, therefore, that we accommodate ourselves to Asian attitudes. We must always keep in mind that the objectives of these countries we prefer to call neutral are the same as ours—the creation of free, confident, new nations from the Mediterranean to the South China Sea. It is true that whether or not the Communist time-table will enable them to achieve this objective is open to question, despite what many free Asian leaders may seem to think. The capacity of these countries to develop will depend on their own awareness to their mutual danger. That growth of perception must come from them. We cannot create the conditions in Asia which will make for solidarity. We can only help by giving these nations friendly and unobtrusive support.

One good result to come from the Geneva agreement lies in the fact that for the first time in post-war Asia there is no actual conflict. We have therefore a breathing spell in which to reorientate ourselves in

regard to that vast continent. There are lessons to be derived from the tragic fate which has befallen Vietnam.

LESSONS TO BE ABSORBED

1. Indo-China and the Geneva conference have demonstrated that it is a mistake to talk purely in terms of military retaliation when we speak of counteracting Communism. Reckless talk, as our talk in the critical period of the Indo-China war proved to be, only serves to alienate people who, after all is said and done, are democratic-minded like ourselves and are potentially our friends. On the other hand it would be the height of folly not to maintain our military strength. We should be ready to resist overt aggression. We should strengthen the alliances we already have with Asian nations and cooperate with any Asian nations who take the initiative in seeking new ones.

2. We should stand firm on Formosa and in Korea against the possibility of further Communist encroachment. Yet, we cannot afford to base our Asian policies solely on these two nations, whose combined populations amount to but three per cent of the population of the continent. Their leaders, both of whom have resisted Communism bravely, deserve our full support. Yet, we cannot be unmindful that

the majority of the peoples of critical South and Southeast Asia are completely out of sympathy with them. Most Asians are convinced they are itching to start a third world war.

3. As the third item on this suggested blueprint for our attitude toward Asia, I should like to stress the need for continued economic assistance, first, because situations which are largely political and economic, as is the case in Asia, do not normally respond to the military approach, and secondly, because I have always felt that in principle Catholics should urge the need of constructive aid programs in underdeveloped areas. On more than one occasion the present Pontiff has spoken in glowing terms of American efforts in this regard. In 1949 he stated to a group of U. S. Congressmen:

Your select committee, We have been told, is also particularly interested in the problem presented by those afflicted members of the world's family whose human dignity and human rights have not been one whit lessened for all their misery and misfortune. American generosity has made bounteous contributions to the various international organs of relief . . .

The task of bringing peace and decent prosperity to the stricken peoples of the world is a gigantic one; but let all who are working so unselfishly towards that goal remember the Divine Master has said: "If a man gives

so much as a drink of cold water to one of the least of these . . . he shall not miss his reward" (Matt. 10, 42). In the following year, to the members of the International Congress of Social Studies and of the International Christian Social Union, Pius XII spoke in more emphatic tones:

Only the coalition of all honest people in every part of the world, united in loyal understanding and perfect accord, for a far-reaching plan of action can bring about the remedy for the social and economic ills which plague the world.

Away with the selfish preoccupations of nationality and class which may in the least hinder an undertaking loyally embraced and vigorously carried out by the joint action of all the forces actually at work or available over the whole face of the earth: an undertaking launched . . . with the world-wide collaboration of states, each contributing its respective share of wealth in raw materials, in capital, in manpower.

Again in his Christmas message of 1946 the Pope noted:

Nothing is so well suited to create the indispensable spiritual requirements of peace as help liberally given by state to state, by a people to a people without regard to national boundaries, so that nations, laying aside feelings of rivalry and vengeance, restraining their craving for power and banishing the thought of privileged isolation, may learn from their own fortune to understand, to tolerate and to help another.

It would of course be unrealistic to suggest that our economic-aid programs are not at all tinged with

the motive of self-interest. But what do we mean by self-interest? Do we mean personal profit? Or do we mean that we see the wisdom of helping underdeveloped countries because stable economies are a prerequisite to a world in which there is peace? If that is what we mean, then it should make little difference to us through what medium our aid is given. We should therefore increase the technical and economic assistance of the Point IV program, with a larger proportion spent through the United Nations. The more aid takes on the characteristic of international cooperation, the sooner the suspicions and distrust of the nations in the erstwhile colonial countries will disappear.

4. We should encourage moves like the April, 1954 talks in Ceylon by representatives of Asia's neutralist governments. It is quite within the realm of possibility that out of such meetings an indigenous Monroe Doctrine for Asia will develop. We cannot afford to underestimate the moral weight these newly independent nations have among the teeming millions of Asia, Africa and South America. A statement by the Colombo Powers that an act of overt aggression by Red China in Southeast Asia would meet with resistance would immeasurably strengthen the forces of democracy throughout the world.

The possibility of such a state-

ment is not so far-fetched as it may seem after this discussion of Asian neutralism. No nation which has been as ruthless in its treatment of home-grown Communists as has India can be called completely naive on the question of Communism. There are good grounds for suspecting, for all the newspaper accounts of his trip to Peiping, that Prime Minister Nehru laid a few cards on the table for Chou En-lai. Among them very probably was the question of Communist infiltration in Southeast Asia. We cannot, therefore, discount the possibility that Indian neutralism may yet prove to be as good a stick as any to hold over the head of Red China.

5. It is high time we took a responsible stand on the traces of colonialism which still remain in the world. To continue unqualified or implied support for the colonial power when questions involving colonialism come up in the UN sacrifices our moral position in the world. Strengthening our European allies at the expense of the peoples of Asia and Africa is a bad bargain, as our experience in Indo-China has demonstrated.

6. No discussion of the general situation in Asia would be complete without reference to Japan. At the moment a constantly expanding population and a denial of access to world markets have caused an imminent economic crisis in the coun-

try. I will simply say this—whether or not Japan works her way into the world trade picture, this nation of 87 million highly intelligent, industrious people is going to survive. It will survive either linked with the free world or bound to the Soviet-Chinese bloc. Only the free world can decide which way Japan will be drawn.

This paper has merely scratched the surface of the variety of factors in Asia which make for divisiveness. It has not touched on the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir; nor treated the bitterness in the Philippines over the issue of Japanese war reparations; nor analyzed the antagonism which still exists between Koreans and Japanese. But these and manifold other problems will, I feel, work themselves out in time.

The crucial area of Asia and therefore the one which demands our immediate attention is in the South and Southeast where a philosophy of international affairs seems to frustrate our every attempt at constructing a barrier against aggressive Communism. Only by understanding that philosophy of neutralism with all the political, economic and psychological forces which have shaped it can we evolve a workable approach to the problem of Asia. Much as we may feel the need of strong military establishments throughout the world, the fact

remains that stability in Asia is going to be determined for the most part by Asians themselves and not by dramatic moves on our part.



Peron's Attack on the Church

A document being circulated among Catholics in Argentina gives the lie in 37 factual points to Peron's cry that there is "no conflict with the Church." The document has never been printed, but Argentine Catholics have copied it out by hand and cyclostyled it to bring the true facts to light.

The document shows that Peron is giving Protestants facilities which he has taken away from Catholics. Catholic radio programs, including the Mass and the rosary, have been suppressed but Protestant services have been started. Other facilities, hitherto held by Catholics alone, are now shared with Protestants. Protestants and spiritualist ministers, for example, have been authorized to work in hospitals on the same terms as Catholic priests. Recently at a banquet, Chilean Freemasons congratulated Peron on his fight against the Catholic religion.

Here are some of the anti-Church moves listed. There is a systematic campaign of calumny in the press against bishops, priests and religious. Public meetings of Catholics and processions have been forbidden in many places. All priests holding posts in Government education institutes have been dismissed. The women's section of the Peronist party has been ordered to try to create disturbances in churches and, in one case at least, praised for doing so. The Jesuit Salavadore College has been deprived of its independence. A woman senator was expelled from her party and from the senate for attacking the divorce bill—now in force—and criticizing "official anti-Catholicism." Trade unions have been compelled to protest against "clerical infiltration"—some unions asked what this meant as they had never heard of it. Prison chaplains have been dismissed. Certain Peronist newspapers which libelled leading Salesian priests refused to print the court's verdict in favor of the priests. Editors of two newspapers had to be forcibly removed from court when they threatened members of the bench. The police make sudden intimidating inspections of Catholic clubs and headquarters of Catholic organizations. The Mass which for years has been celebrated every Sunday in the Retiro railway station has been banned. Peronista women have been invited to infiltrate Catholic organizations and go to confession as spies. Government banks have been ordered not to grant credit to Catholic institutions or even to Catholic merchants or ventures.—THE EXAMINER, (Bombay), Feb. 26, 1955.

The Labor School Program

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*Reprinted from the GRAIL**

IN MANHATTAN, over forty years ago, Father Terence Shealy, S.J., made a pioneer effort to establish advance education in the labor school field. A contemporary of Father Shealy in this field was Father Peter Dietz, also of New York. However, Catholic labor schools remained scarce in the United States on through the 'twenties and up to 1936. An important start was made that year when the Xavier Labor School was founded in Manhattan. It continues today, with Father Philip Carey, S.J., the director, as one of the largest and most active in the country. By 1949 there were over a hundred of these schools located in the major industrial cities of the nation.

There are five types of Catholic institutes in the labor school field. One type operates as a strictly parish entity. Another is under the direction of the diocese, such as the school established by Monsignor Boland in Buffalo. Again, these schools may be attached to a col-

lege or university, like the Institute of Industrial Relations at Providence College. A fourth type is the general adult educational program with a group of courses on industrial relations, similar to the Bishop Sheil School in Chicago. Finally, important educational work has been carried on in New York and other cities by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

Students following these programs represent wide differences in age, educational levels and religious beliefs. During the day they may be machinists, telephone operators, assembly workers, teachers and even executives.

The aim motivating these institutes grew out of what has been called "the scandal of the 19th century," that is, the loss to the Church of countless European workers. There has come a realization here of the serious need to develop men and women in industry who are imbued with Catholic social principles and who see the need to steer a path between the extremes of col-

* St. Meinrad, Indiana, October, 1954

lectivism and economic individualism. As Father Louis Twomey, S.J., of Loyola's Institute of Industrial Relations in New Orleans, states: "For too long in our industrial society we have operated on the totally false assumption that in achieving undreamed of technological progress, the matter of harmonious human relations in industry would somehow take care of itself."

The Hartford Diocesan Institute, directed by Monsignor Joseph Donnelly, stresses that its program is not merely designed to combat Communists, but seeks to foster a positive approach to a sound social order. Effort is made to overcome the stubborn refusal in the past to try to understand each other's position in labor-management relations.

UNIONS AND MANAGEMENT

Regarding procedures, most Jesuit-directed programs have now abandoned the term "labor school" for the more accepted designation "institute of industrial relations." In line with semantics, this title keeps the door open to both unions and management. Father Dennis Comey, S.J., of Saint Joseph's Institute, Philadelphia, finds that a cross-section of union and management members brings the best results. In his institute, half of the 320 registered are from unions and 92 from management.

On the question whether classes

should be mixed or separate, Father Clifford Carroll, S.J., of Gonzaga University, Spokane, Wash., recalls an exchange of remarks between a union official and a management representative at a preliminary committee meeting. The union member declared to Father Carroll: "If you're going to tell those fellows anything, I want to be there." This drew from the management member the retort: "And I want to hear what you're going to hear." Accordingly, in Spokane, in Philadelphia and elsewhere, union and management men now sit side by side, learning the same principles and being challenged by the same truths. Naturally, some classes are separate, but most are not.

Though no degrees or credits are granted, certificates and awards figure prominently at the end of each year. For example, the Institute at Saint Peter's College, directed by Father William Smith, S.J., confers the Excellence Award for one year's perfect attendance and satisfactory record. Father Carroll of Gonzaga was at first amazed at the enormous importance placed by the students on such awards. He naively ascribed it to the natural desire one has to win a prize. Later the sound, practical reason came out. The award served as excellent documentary proof to convince the wife that her husband had really been present at the institute every Tuesday night.

For the successful operation of an institute a heavy responsibility falls upon the director, who for all practical purposes must give full time to the work. Father Carey at Xavier's in Manhattan is constantly busy with the demands of his school. He is besieged by telephone calls which relate to dispute cases or Communist interference. Attention must be given to classes, forums, social events, days of recollection and the school bulletin. Extracurricular activities are a requisite to hold the students. Since fees are necessarily only nominal, mere investment in a course is not a strong inducement to finish out a year.

THE FACULTY

Financial stringency makes it essential to depend upon a faculty which donates its services. Yet, few priests or laymen are available for the work. Moreover, it is difficult to persuade competent laymen to accept such a long-range assignment without compensation. In the larger cities there have been better results in maintaining a faculty. Cooperation there has come from government officials, college teachers, lawyers, union and management personnel. Thus, in Philadelphia, Father Comey is able to perform the feat of operating with a volunteer faculty of forty lay members. Even then he has to find a large number of replacements each year.

The number of courses offered extends from one or more a term to as many as thirty over a period of two terms, as in Saint Joseph's, Philadelphia. Typical subjects include Industrial Ethics, Public Speaking, Parliamentary Law and High Points in the American Labor Movement. In the larger institutes, courses are held on collective bargaining, grievance procedure, arbitration and the union-management contract.

Obstacles have been abundant. The handicap of criticism has been borne by the institutes from the beginning. It took years for the New Rochelle School, founded by Father Joseph Moody and now under the direction of Father Thomas Darby, to overcome the suspicion of certain Catholic AFL officials in the Westchester area that the institute was designed to set up separate Catholic unions, as in French Canada. Belief was also expressed that the New Rochelle School favored the CIO unions over the AFL. Actually, in the early days the fledgling CIO members responded more heartily to the program than did the more complacent AFL members.

Management has sometimes voiced its disapproval. The New Rochelle program was criticized for teaching workers their rights, but never their duties. Painstakingly its director has pointed out that in the early classes, to attract and gain

the trust of the students, emphasis is placed on their rights as workers. He considers this a valid "common ground technique," which was often employed by Saint Paul. Moreover, no year ever ends without a protracted treatment of union responsibilities, readily accepted at that time because of faith in the source.

APATHY OF LAITY

Apathy by some Catholic groups to the challenges which confront the Church in the present day has served to slow the progress of the institutes. Father Edmund Gamel, of Saint Michael's College, Vermont, found even the workers to be indifferent at times to the objectives of the schools. Discussion which goes beyond concern with direct material benefits often causes lagging of interest and even a heavy decline in attendance. Father James Hartnett, director of the Archdiocesan Labor Institute in Saint Louis, declares that during years of full employment "it is extremely difficult to persuade men to attend these sessions."

Communist elements have been active in trying to hamper this work. When the New Rochelle School was invited to give group instruction to union members in 1946, the Communist Party in Yonkers urged one union there to dissuade its members from attending. Nevertheless, the union local invited the New Rochelle director to present his case

at a union meeting. Also invited for the same reason were representatives from the C. P. Jefferson School, the C. P. Tom Paine School, and the C. P. Booker T. Washington School. After due discussion and a second meeting, the members voted 6 to 1 to accept the Catholic program. Later the Communist faction in the local was ousted from office.

Though finances are a serious problem, Father Richard McKeon, S.J., of Le Moyne College, Syracuse, notes that institute directors hesitate to accept funds from company sources, when they are offered, since the Communists in the area will quickly label such programs company-dominated and thus cut down attendance. One director is reluctant to become dependent on outside funds from fear of the old adage: "Whose bread I eat, his song I sing." As a result, most of the projects are supported by either the diocese or a religious community. Father Hubert Callaghan, S.J., of Holy Cross College in Worcester, states that the institute there has never been able to pay its way without support of his Order.

SOME SCHOOLS CLOSE

Looking at trends for the past five years, one notes that a large number of these schools or institutes have gone out of existence. It is estimated that only about six of

them are still operating at peak attendance. In the Hartford Diocese most of the chapters of the institute have closed their schools after eleven years in operation, and now operate less formally. Ten years ago in Detroit Father Clement Kern was the diocesan director for thirty-four such programs. Today, they are no longer in operation. A similar condition is found in Saint Louis.

What are some of the factors believed accountable for these closings? One explanation for the picture in Detroit is that pre-occupation with the anti-Communist approach left the Catholic programs without a driving force after Walter Reuther came to office and routed the Communist element of the United Auto Workers. Throughout the country in the past five or ten years, competition has come from the unions themselves, which have developed regular educational programs with permanent educational directors. During the same period, some universities have made available to union personnel a wide variety of courses to be taken in residence over several months, as at Harvard, or on an extension plan as at Cornell.

Another formidable kind of competition has come from the strong attraction of evening television. However, perhaps full employment has done most to dim worker interest.

Despite these difficulties, a number of the original institutes continue to repeat their early successes. Saint Peter's in Jersey City, Xavier's in Manhattan, the diocesan program in Brooklyn, Saint Joseph's in Philadelphia, all are operating with high enrollments. A factor they have in common is a concentrated area of population from which to draw both their students and faculty. Often institutes in smaller cities have been unable to establish themselves, since students are not available in sufficient numbers after two years. Again, the larger cities permit enough diversity of industry and unions to prevent undue influence by any one economic group. This freer atmosphere is not so prevalent in the smaller cities.

CHURCH'S SOCIAL TEACHINGS BETTER KNOWN

Regardless of the present decline in enrollment, Catholic institutes of industrial relations throughout the country have caused the Church's social teachings to become more widely known among union groups. Saint Peter's Institute in Jersey City has explained such doctrines to over 5,000 people in industry. During the span of fifteen to twenty years a number of other schools in this field have been able to exert a similar influence in large American cities. Father Comey in Philadelphia considers that his programs

have made notable contributions to better economic relationships.

Father Kern of Detroit recalls that in the 1930's and '40's these schools did much good in teaching workers the value of union organization, and that unions were not creations of Moscow. Too often in those years Communists were playing the role of zealous union organizers. The Church's program on industrial relations offered a source of information which could be trusted. Moreover, many zealous Catholics were persuaded to make union administration a career.

As the programs now stand, one may doubt if the leaders in this apostolate consider the labor school approach the panacea which will end industrial strife. Factors are too complex; issues are too interdependent for any single method to provide all the answers. At least we may say that this approach to industrial relations has served, in various parts of the country, as an inducement for Catholics and non-Catholics in unions and management to exercise a more enlightened responsibility in their economic relationships.



Confined to the Sacristy

Life gets so complicated. As long as the Popes are content to write encyclicals on the Priesthood, the Missions, and the Rosary, all is peaceful. But when they turn to social, economic and political matters, they are told that they are interfering in matters which are no concern of their's. Pope Pius XI wrote twenty-five years ago that the Church "never can relinquish her God-given task of interposing her authority, not indeed in matters of technique, but in all those that fall under the moral law." Wages, employment, prices are indeed technical problems but they have definite and intimate moral aspects. With these the Church is, and must be, concerned. "For," as Pius XI goes on, "the deposit of Truth entrusted to us by God . . . demands that social and economic matters be brought within Our supreme jurisdiction insofar as they relate to moral issues."—*Msgr. Joseph Donnelly in SOCIAL ACTION BULLETIN (Hartford) Dec. 15, 1954.*

Responsibility of the Press

MOST REV. RICHARD J. CUSHING
Archbishop of Boston

*Sermon at the second annual journalists' Mass,
Oratory of St. Thomas More, Boston, January 29, 1955*

FOR the second year we gather on the feast of St. Francis de Sales to ask the special blessings of God on the men and women who, in their varying capacities, are part of what is simply called the press. St. Francis, who was a prolific and persuasive writer, long ago was named the patron of the press because he so remarkably appreciated the power of words to impress and influence the human mind. In our days of organized propaganda we know to what lengths this power is used. Its most authoritative voice is the daily press. Everyone who assists in the production of the present-day newspaper and, indeed, even those who buy the paper must feel that they have made some contribution to its existence and in this sense at least bear some responsibilities for its effects in the community.

Every weekday in the United States more than 50 million newspapers are printed and distributed. On Sundays a little less than 50 million papers come into the homes

of America. If we can assume that more than one person reads each paper, it is easy to conclude that many people, perhaps even most people, actually read more than one paper a day.

The newspaper has become so much a part of our daily lives that we feel somehow lost when, for one reason or another, we are without it. Even when its delivery is delayed, we are annoyed, and in many cases we become so attached to a certain paper and its style that we find it difficult to read the news with the same interest and attention from another source.

Once upon a time people worried about what radio would do to the newspaper, and more recently there was a certain anxiety about the effect of television. As matters turned out, both radio and television have merely opened up new subjects for newspaper treatment; the approach of these other media to the problems of the news has been interesting and effective in many ways but it has not replaced,

and can't conceivably replace, the newspaper in the modern world.

The ordinary citizen finds in his newspaper the history of his own time unfolding before him. He sees its triumphs and disasters, its enthusiasms and its worries; he finds there an explanation for the complexities of international life; he finds, too, a description of the decisions affecting the life of his own nation; he learns the meaning of events in his own community.

In the pages of his paper he becomes acquainted with his neighbors, with those who present a program for human betterment and with those who find it necessary to criticize the existing order of things. The reader of the daily press meets all kinds of people in its pages, the man in political life who, as an elected official, seeks his support; the religious leader who recalls for the edification of his people the spiritual values of man in society; the professional man in law or medicine or education who informs the public on the area of his interest. Along with these he meets all those who as each day passes make the news.

Of course, he also meets in his daily paper the troublemaker, the lawbreaker and the victim of accident and personal tragedy. He finds there also, and sometimes in lurid detail, that special brand of person that defies convention or decency or

simple propriety merely for the sake of notoriety and personal attention. Even if in somewhat uneven terms, the ordinary citizen reads in his paper the history of his own days, and the historians who one day will record from another time the story of our years will look to the newspapers for the most accurate and most detailed description of the life we led, the ideas we had and the ideals we sought.

RESPONSIBILITY

Against this background it might be salutary to call to our attention this morning the responsibility of the press in the face of the tremendous influence it holds over the minds and the manners and the morals of men. Certainly no one can read his newspaper without being affected by it—if it is no more than mere information that is added to a human mind, if it is only a point of view that somehow seems to be attractive, if it is only impressions, not even clear ones, that somehow seem worthy of his attention. The reader at any rate carries away from his perusal of the paper something which he did not have before, something which makes him at least in a little way a different person. In this sense the newspaper might be said to form as well as to inform its readers. It shapes, in fact, the society which it serves.

When newspapers are excited and noisy and frightening, their readers cannot help being, in turn, enkindled and aroused to a similar kind of hysteria. When the newspapers are lurid and suggestive and improper, they plant the same subtle poisons in the mentality and emotions of their readers. When the newspapers are inaccurate and partisan and prejudiced, they prepare the ground for faulty judgments in the citizens they serve.

But when newspapers are alert and accurate, when they are fair and impartial, when they are efficient and dedicated, these virtues too are reflected in the dispositions of the citizens who read them. It is obvious, of course, that there is no such thing as a perfect newspaper any more than there is such a thing as a perfect man, but we all strive for perfection. We work toward perfection as toward a goal and, unless we set for ourselves a goal so high as to seem to be beyond our reach, we will, in fact, always fall below the good that we are capable of doing. When a paper is satisfied with itself, it is taking its first step backward, for the best minds will know that even as men we generally fall short of what we should be.

We know that our first responsibility is to truth and we try to serve it with a genuine and sincere heart. Every newspaper and periodical, whatever its immediate ob-

jectives, can find justification for its existence only in the part which it can play in keeping the public accurately informed and in molding public opinion along the lines of an objective and constructive philosophy of life.

We are rightfully indignant as we learn of the shameful subservience of the press behind the Iron Curtain to the enslaving power of the state. We would certainly offer vigorous protest were we to be ordered by the highest authority in the land to misrepresent and distort facts simply because the truth of facts would be dangerous for the continuance in power of the existing government. We would hardly regard it as consistent with our constitutionally guaranteed human freedom if we were required to convert the resources of American journalism into agencies of propaganda, whose criterion of truth would be governmental decrees and whose norms of morality would be established by the varying whims of ruthless dictators.

PARTISAN INTEREST

Let us keep this terrifying possibility in mind as we reflect upon the rights and functions of a free press in a free country. There is a tendency in every group to isolate itself from the total community of which it is an integral part, to allow selfish and partisan interests to

motivate its activity and to make expediency and observable results rather than complete honesty and devotion to the truth the standard of success.

Among certain groups of artists, for example, the principle "art for art's sake" seems to indicate their determination to make artistic expression an end in itself rather than a means of helping human nature to realize its noblest yearnings for eternal truth and peace. Again, among many modern scientists there is a tendency toward intolerable glorification of scientific progress, which we might similarly characterize as science for the sake of science alone. I wonder if there may not be a tendency among journalists to follow in practice the principle "news for news' sake," even while protesting that news is essentially and necessarily the reporting of the truth.

It is precisely this inconsistency that can make it possible for the press to lose its freedom. If news value, rather than objective truth, determines the manner of reporting, we are destroying the noble ideals which make it possible to resist the pressure of shortsighted minorities who would use your tremendous power for their own advantage, to the detriment of society as a whole. If we yield to the temptation to trifle with the truth for the purposes of a sensational story, we will have no

defense against the unprincipled demands of a growing political despotism which, if unresisted, will bring the press in this country to the sorry state into which it has fallen in countries behind the Iron Curtain.

We have another responsibility. We must have a right understanding of the faults of human nature. Human frailty, in all its ghastly forms, is regrettably a part of each day's news. The reporter must take note of it; he must chronicle the events in which it is involved; he must often, in the interest of accurate and impartial evaluation of the news, stress certain aspects of delinquency and crime which in other circumstances he might be disposed to ignore. For this reason the journalist perhaps finds himself quite frequently in a troublesome dilemma. His reading public seems to demand a certain type of reporting, a certain questionable portrayal of prevalent vice and sin. If he refuses to provide material for the gratification of morbid curiosity, he may run the risk of incurring the censure of employers.

I am merely pointing out the problem. I am well aware that it has no immediate solution, and I confess that I do not know precisely how a future solution can be worked out. Without question the people themselves must bear the greater part of the blame, if for no other

reason than that their collective tastes and preferences carry so much weight in the forming of a newspaper's policies.

May I suggest, however, that it is neither impossible nor impractical for a newspaper to contemplate positive resistance even to deeply rooted and widely prevalent moral depravity. We should not be satisfied to give people what they want; we should give serious thought to the need of giving them what they need and what will do them the most good. Otherwise we are merely taking our place in a vicious circle of social corruption which will engulf us all together once its whirling madness gets out of control.

COMMUNITY PROBLEM

From time to time you must seek for a measure that will in some way give an account of your success. Since you are such a potent force in the shaping of society, society itself will reflect your virtues, your ideals, your work and your success. Here in our own community you may look with satisfaction upon what you have accomplished.

Boston, with its surrounding area, has many special problems—some of them very serious problems. But this is as it should be. A growing city and a progressive community will always be changing and out of its change will come new situations which raise new questions. The fact

that we have problems is no reflection on our city or upon ourselves. It is the manner in which we handle these problems, it is the energy and the insight that we use in their solution that give us the key to our true success.

I see in our city, on almost every level, evidences of enlightened leadership and forceful action that with each passing day bring our community closer and closer to the realization of that good society which is our common aim. In this task many forces, of course, are at work—political, economic, social, civic, and all the rest. No one of these forces wields a power greater than that of our daily press. Our press has been consistently constructive and positive in its analysis and its presentation of the local scene and its special difficulties. Continue to be so. I urge you this morning to be even more attentive to the evils that, from time to time, seem to flourish in our midst. Do not spare them your strong denunciation when the occasion demands, but be sure, at the same time, to give them your most earnest assistance in a constructive way that will remove the causes that produce them.

This brings me to my final point. We live and work and struggle not merely to survive in the present, but to prepare ourselves for the world to come. We are truly human only if

we keep our eyes fixed firmly on the ideals which express the noble destiny of our common humanity, and direct our efforts, shoulder to shoulder with all men of good-will, toward their realization.

It is an inspiring, if somewhat sobering thought that the words which run so smoothly from your typewriters are received and read, commented on and believed by countless thousands of your fellow men. Your power is far greater than that of those who hold positions of high responsibility in our legislative and executive bodies. Truly, you are men of destiny. It is not a rhetorical exaggeration to refer to you as prophets, in the literal sense of those who speak to their fellow men as representatives of God. For truly your power over the minds

of men is second only to that of Him who made these minds to know Himself.

To the extent that you become conscious of your vocation, to that extent will you be worthy of the confidence which your fellow men place in you, and of the mission which God has given you to fulfill. May God give you strength to live and work as lovers of the truth, to build yourselves up into unshakable columns of resistance against the deterioration of modern society. And may St. Francis de Sales, whose heavenly patronage we invoke today, inspire you all to work unselfishly and perseveringly to further the cause of decency and professional dignity which has prompted you to take part in this edifying ceremony.



Ethos of Games

Let us suppose that we are playing a game for the sheer fun of it—say a game of bridge. What happens to our game, and to our fun, if one of us refuses to “take it seriously” and insists on “fooling”? The answer is easy. The game becomes foolish and ceases to be fun. And what happens if one of us takes it *too* seriously and gets angry at losing, or gloats over winning? The game ceases to be a mere game and becomes a somewhat bitter personal conflict, and again the fun of the game is lost. Here are two opposite ways of stepping outside of the charmed circle of the game’s quite arbitrary rules and ethos—two ways, therefore, of failing to encounter such reality and such refreshment as a game, *qua* game, can offer us. — *Theodore M. Greene in THOUGHT, Autumn, 1954.*

Documentation

Easter Message

POPE PIUS XII

Message given on Easter Sunday, April 10, 1955

"SURREXIT—He has risen"—(Matt. 28, 6) was the joyful greeting which the angel at the empty tomb gave to the holy women at the dawn of the Resurrection Day. The same cry of victory and the promise of Jesus of His unfailing help to the Church is now over the centuries a proved reality (Cf. Matt. 28, 20). We desire, in His name, to repeat today, as an Easter greeting to you all, beloved sons and daughters, who come from our own episcopal city of Rome, from Italy, from so many parts of the world, in order that the blessed strengthening and heavenly peace which flows forth from the Divine Saviour may penetrate your minds and mold your thoughts, your sentiments and your will.

He is risen and lives in the midst of us! What more certain truth, what more comforting reality, in the present earthly exile, than this twofold fact on which are founded the certainty of the Faith and the hope of each one's salvation!

Christ is risen! This historic truth shines forth undimmed by any shadow of doubt, and its splendor persists, supported by the living testimony of the Church, which would not have survived the burden of the centuries if Christ had not risen.

Christ is in the midst of us! The reality of Christ living and working in the Church shines out with irresistible clarity. You yourselves are witness of it. This Church which cannot be the result of human design—which is rather the denial of inordinate tendencies, and for that reason is hated by the world (Cf. John 15, 18-19)—stands firm because there is in it One Who gives it ever anew the freshness of life and youth. It is God, made man and risen again, who conceals himself within it in order to instill into humanity an interior and unfailing life, by communicating to whosoever believes in Him His own truth, grace and peace.

For the Christian enlightened by the truth of the Resurrection the Faith is life, the essential fullness of life in communion with Christ in the Church.

How, then, could a believer be able to separate in himself religion from life without mortally tearing apart his essential nature and foolishly reversing the due order in the work of God?

Let the Faith, then, be in you a living Faith, that is, let it be a Faith

glowing and alive, so that religion directs life and life is turned into a continual act of religion. In truth, the more deeply the Christian is rooted in the Faith, so much the more zealously does he accomplish the duties which life imposes on him, so much the more effectively does he work when called to a position involving heavy obligations, which have for their end and purpose social welfare, public order and the peaceful dwelling together of nations.

With the joy of Easter, then, dear sons and daughters, let the sound conviction be strengthened in you all that religion is an absolute condition of true life, and that only from an active synthesis of both arises the solution of problems, great and small, which harass humanity at the present time.

In order that this be fulfilled, and that the joy of the Resurrection die not with the setting of the Easter sun, but rather be transformed into abiding hope, We beg an abundance of grace from Our Redeemer, death's Conqueror.

BLESSING FOR MEN OF GOOD-WILL

May Our blessing, therefore, reach all men of good-will, so that ever more of them may become the new heaven (Cf. 1 Cor. 5, 7) of truth and virtue. May it reach those who belong to the true faith, so that they may persevere in it, and, nourished by it, strive for ever greater perfection. But especially may it reach those who for their loyalty to Christ and the Church are suffering persecution, are condemned to unjust hardship, torn from their loved ones, exiled, stripped of their liberty and cast into prison.

We bless them with particular affection, so that with their eyes fixed on the Saviour they may bear these mounting evils with unflinching calm, and be not broken in spirit. Let them offer their sufferings for their very persecutors, and thus win them to God. Let them make of their sacrifices the seeds of a rich harvest of true Christian happiness.

With a heart full of anxiety over the lot of so many peoples whose uncertain future is still hidden in heavy clouds, We bless also all those whose activity has a decisive influence on the good of humanity and the salvation of souls, and in whose hands rests a tremendous power either to promote or to inflict serious harm on those ends.

We bless them in order that they may not close, but rather open wide the gates to God's work; so that sincerely prepared to reach a lasting understanding, they may throughout the world arrange treaties which will insure peace, start a progressive disarmament and thus spare humanity the destruction of a new war. May laws and ordinances within the nations be forthcoming which are always directed to the common good, respect human dignity and the freedom to do good, favor social justice and fraternal charity, in such wise that in their lands the Christian virtues, basis of all well-being, may flower abundantly.

We are well aware how much greater and more important control over the lives of peoples and their political activity is being attained by scientific research, and We bless the Lord Who has turned the minds of men to more gentle counsels of peace.

Without fear or trepidation We have noted the recent advances which, after some definite progress, have successfully completed the first attempt to propel a ship by means of nuclear energy, at last putting that force to the service, and not to the destruction, of men.

We cannot but hope and pray that man may have those energies increasingly at his disposal, and acquire a greater and greater control over them. We know how long and difficult, how arduous and dangerous is such research.

But we exhort men of science and of good-will to persevere bravely and confidently in their theoretical and experimental study of the instruments and the promising materials, so as to attain a worthwhile production of easily accessible energy, which may be put to use where it is needed and contribute to the lessening of the pressures of want and misery.

And we pray Almighty God to illumine and direct that work which can render supreme service, human and moral as well as scientific, even while We beg Him to prevent such great and noble effort from being turned into an infernal violence which would destroy everything.

With like hope and expectation We follow those numerous researches which, directed at studying the effects which the numerous types of radiation now at our disposal have on plants, on their development, on their fruits and the possibility of preserving them, can help resolve the food problems which are of such importance in the life of men. For these too We invoke from God that provident help without which there is no hope for human endeavor.

WARNS AGAINST DANGERS

Still, concerning what research can accomplish in an ambitious control of life, We must again raise Our voice of warning against the dangers, which the science of genetics foresees as possible, when that mysterious something which is deep down in every living thing is handled recklessly, or subjected to a violent change of habitat by a cause such as, for example, an increased radioactivity in the face of a yet unknown margin of biological security.

The horrors of monstrous offspring and, worse still, the hidden shocks caused to parental genes would then give indication of the revolt of nature against such violence.

Finally Our fervent blessing goes to the desolate masses of the poor, scattered throughout the world, but close to Our heart; to the families which lack everything; to the sick languishing in hospitals, sanatoria, clinics, to the wretched in prison; to all oppressed by sorrow, so that through God's mercy and the love of good men they may receive abundant comfort and aid.

The God of every grace, Who has called you to eternal glory in Christ Jesus, will perfect you, solace you and give you strength. To Him be glory and power forever. Amen (1 Peter 5, 10-11).

Indecency in Dress

PIETRO CARDINAL CARIACI

Prefect, Sacred Congregation of the Council

A letter to the bishops of the world, August 15, 1954

WHEN the August Pontiff decreed, in his encyclical letter, that the Marian Year should be observed throughout the world at the close of the first century after the dogmatic definition of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Immaculate Conception,¹ he especially urged the prelates of the Church, the rest of the clergy and all the people that through their vigilant efforts and under the auspices and the patronage of God's most loving Mother and ours, Christian morals might ever increasingly flourish again, and that all, acting as her children and looking at her, might most carefully bring her image into their own lives in the special circumstances in which they live. He stated that one of the first things we must pray for is "that there may grow up a generous and promising youth, pure and unblemished, and that the beautiful flower of youth may not suffer itself to be infected by the corrupt breath of this world and grow up in vice; that their unbridled zeal and bursting ardor may be governed with even moderation, and that, abhorring all deception, they may not turn toward what is harmful and evil, but raise themselves up to whatever is beautiful, holy, loving and elevating."²

Now although the Supreme Pastor's exhortations brought about numerous and salutary results, it is still very much to be regretted that they have not done all that the Sovereign Pontiff wanted in the matter of public and private morals.

Everyone knows that particularly during this summertime there are to be seen everywhere sights which cannot fail to offend the eyes and the souls of those who have not put aside or entirely despised Christian virtue and human modesty. Not only on the seashore and in country resorts, but almost everywhere on the streets of the city and of the little towns, in private and public places, and not infrequently also in buildings consecrated to God, there has come to prevail an unworthy and shameless manner of dress, by which the soul, particularly the soul of youth that is easily turned to sin, is placed in very serious danger of losing that innocence which is the greatest and the most beautiful ornament of mind and body. Women's dress (if it can be called dress): women's clothes ("if those things in which there is nothing by which the body or even shame itself can be protected are to be called clothes"),³ are sometimes such as to seem to work for immodesty (*impudicitia*) rather than for modesty.

¹ Cf. the encyclical letter *Fulgens Corona*, AAS 44 (1953) 577 ff.

² Ibid., 588

³ Seneca, *De ben*, VII, 9

Furthermore, newspapers, magazines and all kinds of little publications shamelessly report every wicked and indecent thing that is done or manifested publicly or privately. Motion picture entertainments, in crowded halls, show such things with the brilliance of moving light to everyone, in such a way that not only callow and unwary youth but even mature age may be affected by evil attractions. Everyone can see what evils come to and what perils attack the morals of the citizens from this source. Hence the beauty of modesty, placed in its own light, must be recommended to all, and the blandishments and allurements of vice must be restrained and forbidden as effectively as possible (*pro viribus*), and, finally, all must be called back, by proper severity, to good morals. For, as the greatest of the Roman orators says: "Often we see men who could not be conquered in any way broken by indecency."⁴

BODILY NUDITY A SOURCE OF CRIME

We are dealing with a most serious matter, as is evident to all. It is pertinent not only to Christian virtue, but also to bodily health and to the strength and the increase of human society. On this subject the ancient poet said very well that "bodily nudity is the source of crime among citizens."⁵ Hence, as we easily realize, this matter concerns not only the Church but also those in civil government, since they should be unwilling to see bodily strength and the power of virtue weakened.

But you, whom the Holy Ghost has placed as Bishops to rule the Church of God,⁶ ought especially to consider this matter carefully, and, with all your power, to cherish and promote everything that contributes toward the protection of natural decency and to the advance of Christian morals, "since we are all the temple of God, with the Holy Ghost brought and consecrated within us, and the guardian and master of this temple is modesty (*pudicitia*), which will allow nothing unclean or profane to be brought into it, lest that God who dwells therein take offense and abandon that polluted house."⁷ But, as all readily recall, because of the manner in which especially women and girls clothe themselves today, there is grave offense given to that sense of decency (*verecundia*) "which is the companion of modesty, and by the presence of which chastity itself is rendered more secure."⁸

Hence it is absolutely necessary, as effectively as possible, to warn and exhort all the people, especially the youth, to avoid the danger of such injuries, which are entirely opposed to Christian and civic virtue and which can lead virtue into most serious danger. "How beautiful is this sense of decency and how splendid a gem of the moral life!"⁹ Let not that virtue be offended or violated by the easy attractions and blandishments of vices which result from that way of dressing or by the way of

⁴ Cicero, *Tusc.*, II, 21

⁵ Ennius, in Cicero, *Tusc.*, IV, 33

⁶ Cf. *Acts*, 20:28

⁷ Tertullian, *De cultu fem.*, MPL I, 1316

⁸ St. Ambrose, *De off.*, I, 20; MPL, XVI, 48

⁹ St. Bernard, *Sermon 86 on the Canticle of Canticles*; MPL, CLXXXIII, 135

acting of which we have spoken above, ways of acting of which no good man can fail to disapprove.

PARENTS SHOULD GIVE GOOD EXAMPLE

The August Pontiff earnestly hopes that this subject may be treated diligently especially throughout this present Marian Year, that above all the prelates of the Church may neglect nothing that can serve to remedy this matter, and that, under their advice and leadership, the rest of the clergy may work, each in his own place, prudently, zealously and unceasingly to effect this end in a proper manner. It is likewise his earnest hope that fathers and mothers of families, first by their example, and then by timely exhortations that come from the strong fortitude of soul that Christians should possess, may remove their offspring from these dangers, and may never be satisfied unless they see the glory of modesty shining in the faces of their children.

And those also who serve in the ranks of Catholic Action should take it upon themselves as an outstanding duty to promote this salutary work. Let them see to it, first of all, that all of those with whom they associate at home or anywhere else may be able to discern the beauty of Christian morality shining out in the way they (the members of Catholic Action) dress and act. Their eyes should shine from the inward innocence of their souls. Their voices and their works should savor of virtue. Only then can they readily, by their persuasion and advice, influence others also to clothe themselves and to act decorously and rightly.

May the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, who was free from the stain of all sin from the very beginning, who was outstanding for her exalted holiness throughout the course of her entire life, and who is the most loving Mother of us all, gain this for all by her prayers.

And may the Apostolic Benediction, which the Holy Father most willingly grants as a token of heavenly gifts and as a sign of his paternal affection to the Bishops, to the rest of the clergy and to the entire Christian people, and first of all to those who may work at this salutary task, obtain this favor from God.

I make this communication to you by reason of a commission given to me.

Given at Rome, from the offices of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, on the fifteenth day of the month of August, on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the year 1954.

PIETRO CARDINAL CIRIACI, *Prefect*
FRANCESCO ROBERTI, *Secretary*.

On Pending Legislation

Statement issued by the Ohio Catholic Welfare Conference, following the Bishops' two-day meeting at Columbus, February 25, 1955

IN THE name of the Ohio Catholic Welfare Conference, the Bishops of the respective Dioceses of this State extend cordial greetings to all members of the Church and pray God's blessings on all our fellow citizens, especially upon those who exercise official responsibility through government for the welfare of our people. We join with them in the earnest desire that, through wise and just decrees, both the spiritual and temporal interests of our State may be fostered.

The Ohio Catholic Welfare Conference, guided by the Bishops of the six Dioceses in the State and representing 2 million citizens, is particularly concerned about the principles of justice and charity as they affect the following measures now before our Legislature: Fair Employment Practices, the program for the mentally afflicted, the care of juvenile delinquents, "open shop" proposals, the creation of a State Board of Education, aid for the aged, and the protection of citizens against offensive entertainment and against the distribution of immoral publications.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

To uphold the principle of equality of opportunity, steps should be taken to rid the State of unjust employment practices. A commission should be established and empowered to hold hearings on charges of abuses in hiring practices.

These abuses, it should be noted,

are not confined to a single group. They are found alike among employer and employee groups, and they reflect the prejudiced attitudes of the public in general. If there is to be compulsion, therefore, in enforcing the provisions of a Fair Employment Practices Law, sanctions should be applied with equal severity against unfairness wherever it exists.

In this connection, it should be borne in mind that directing the light of publicity upon the unfair practices of a particular business or labor group often constitutes a most effective form of remedial punishment. The publication of the findings of the commission should, therefore, be provided in the law. This will serve not only to deter offenders but also to uphold the good reputation of those unjustly charged with unfair practices.

The law should make it plain, too, that an employer has a right to reject an employee who is not qualified for a position. The movement for fair employment practices will only be discredited if a charge of racial or religious intolerance can be used as a pretext to compel the employment of unqualified workers.

INSTITUTIONS FOR THE MENTALLY AFFLICTED

The Ohio Catholic Welfare Conference again calls attention to the deplorable lack of proper care of the mentally afflicted. Provision should be made for:

1. Adequate facilities, so that the present over-crowded condition of State institutions will be eliminated as soon as possible.

2. Adequate staffs of attendants, psychiatric physicians, nurses and social workers for these institutions, so that remedial—as well as custodial—care is made possible.

CARE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

The increasing evil of juvenile delinquency, it should be recognized, is nurtured principally by broken homes and by the fact that in many homes no consistent pattern of life, no consistent standard of morality, is held up before the children.

Every effort should be made toward the moral rehabilitation of children whose delinquency brings them within the power of the law. To make this possible, detention homes and other correctional institutions should not be overcrowded. The program made effective by the former Civilian Conservation Corps should be reestablished and decentralization encouraged. We favor the adoption of a system of instruction, employment and recreation which offers the fullest opportunities for character development.

Those in charge of such institutions will defeat their purpose if they ignore the essential role of religion in giving their charges a right concept of moral standards.

"OPEN SHOP" OR "RIGHT TO WORK" LAWS

The Ohio Catholic Welfare Conference is in sympathy with all sincere attempts to remove injustices in the field of labor-management relations. It urges caution, however, in regard to legislation which might seek to

check the abuses of labor organizations by undermining the collective bargaining principle. The abuses should be stopped, but not by striking at the idea of unionism itself.

Labor organizations are well advised to remove any abuses on their part that might provide a pretext for anti-union laws. The unions will continue to enjoy public good-will only as long as they admit their failings and make genuine attempts to correct them.

Individual workers should be aware not only of their rights but also of their social responsibilities. The honest worker who enjoys the benefits of union association will not shirk his duty toward the unions that make these benefits possible.

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Ohio Catholic Welfare Conference favors the appointment of a State Board of Education by the Governor, with the approval of the Senate. The board members should be appointed, not elected.

Appointment by the Governor is consistent with the principle that the State's chief executive has the full responsibility of administering the laws. And approval by the Legislature follows the tradition that the State's educational program is a major concern of the State Legislature.

The State Board of Education should represent the interests of all citizens and all schools in relation to both areas and population. The term of office of board members should be staggered. The province of the board's responsibilities should not extend beyond secondary education.

We call the attention of our fellow citizens to the urgent problem of pro-

viding adequate school construction not only for the rapidly growing number of children who attend the tax-supported schools of the State, but also for almost 300,000 children whose parents, in the exercise of their religious liberty, bear the unequal burden of taxes for public schools as well as the burden of costs for the construction and operation of their own voluntary schools. In the metropolitan and urban centers of the State, especially where there exist a large number of religious schools rendering public service, the School Foundation Program is spared the expense of many millions of dollars by reason of the fact that the entire local school tax can be used for only part of the school population. In some areas this means a saving of as much as thirty to forty per cent of the school taxes which would otherwise be necessary.

In a spirit of fair play as well as in a spirit of justice we ask that our fellow citizens do not increase our burdens needlessly by extravagant construction when planning new buildings. Such school construction as is essential for the accommodation of new pupils should be provided. At the same time we ask that the auxiliary services, such as transportation of children by school buses, be made available to all school children irrespective of the particular schools which they attend, whether tax supported or voluntary. Travel on the public highways is not in itself a function of the educational authority of the State, but an exercise of police power to safeguard children from the hazards of accident and exposure to the inclemencies of weather. We appeal to the sense of justice and decent neighborly consideration of our representatives in the State Legislature to cor-

rect this inequality by statute law such as is legally permitted under recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

AID FOR THE AGED

The present statutory ceiling on aid for the aged is creating hardships not only for many indigent old people but also for relief agencies which are compelled to add other types of assistance from poor relief funds to supplement old-age pensions. We recommend the authorization of a grant for indigent aged persons which would be more in keeping with their needs.

While insisting on the serious nature of the State's responsibility in this matter, we feel impelled to call attention also to the strict duty of children to do all in their power to care for aged parents who are unable to care for themselves. The State's responsibility begins, it should be remembered, only when no other adequate provision is made for the care of the aged.

ENTERTAINMENT AND PUBLICATIONS

The demonstrated tendency of some motion picture distributors and exhibitors to release films dangerous to public morals makes it necessary to enact effective legislation that will protect citizens against offensive entertainment. The same can be said for certain manifestly immoral publications.

The obligation to promote a wholesome attitude toward entertainment does not rest solely or even primarily with the state. It devolves much more directly upon parents and indeed upon all citizens generally, who have a serious duty to cooperate with the Church and the school in protecting

children against the assaults of irresponsible entertainers and publishers.

Parental vigilance against morally harmful influences will be doubly effective if the atmosphere of the home is genuinely religious, if the Lord Christ is the acknowledged master of the household and if family prayer is an accepted part of family life.

CONCLUSION

In concluding our deliberations we are mindful of the fact that we meet in the opening days of the holy season of Lent. It is a time of special prayer and penance. Both are necessary if we are to win divine favor for the future and if we are to satisfy divine justice for past transgressions. Prayer is a recognition of our dependence on God; penance is an acknowledgment of sin.

Penance implies an attitude of conversion from what is evil to that which is good. It is an interior disposition of the soul; but it calls also for a mortification of the senses. In this season of Lent we urge especially two things: an emphasis on chastity and modesty, and an increased practice of temperance and sobriety. Lust and drunkenness have become major evils in public and private life, and there is danger that the frequency of these

offenses may dull the voice of private conscience and weaken the force of public disapproval. We advocate therefore a spirit of mortification and penance which will not only renounce all excess but which will curb and restrain even that indulgence which might be lawful. There is urgent need to reestablish a strong public opinion which will discountenance every abuse of sex and drink, which is not only evil in itself but a prolific source of spiritual disaster in the individual, the family and the public life of the community.

With renewed blessing, we remain

Devotedly yours in Christ,

THE MOST REVEREND KARL J. ALTER
Archbishop of Cincinnati

THE MOST REVEREND EDWARD F. HOBAN
Archbishop-Bishop of Cleveland

THE MOST REVEREND EMMET M. WALSH
Bishop of Youngstown

THE MOST REVEREND GEORGE J. REHRING
Bishop of Toledo

THE MOST REVEREND MICHAEL J. READY
Bishop of Columbus

THE MOST REVEREND JOHN K. MUSSIO
Bishop of Steubenville



Spanish Workers and the Faith

The working class has lost the Faith. It does not receive the Sacraments. It does not respect the authority of the hierarchy in the domains of moral and dogma. It does not consider itself as being part of the supernatural society which is called the Church.

There are people in Spain who persist in believing that everything here is Catholic. All depends evidently on the idea which one has of "being Catholic."—OFFICIAL BULLETIN OF SPANISH CATHOLIC ACTION FOR WORKERS (HOAC), Feb. 21, 1955.

Nature and Rights of the Church

This statement of the Argentine Hierarchy, dated March 10, 1955, was ordered to be read in all churches on Passion Sunday, March 27.

THE Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops of the Argentine Republic: to the Ecclesiastic Chapters, to the secular and regular Clergy, to all our beloved faithful, greetings, peace and benediction in the Lord.

During this holy season of Lent, we address to you this pastoral, which concerns the divine institution of the Church and her essential rights as a perfect society and as a juridical person—rights concerning her freedom of worship and teaching and organizing associations of piety and the apostolate; rights which we are obliged to teach and to defend on grounds of justice and truth.

Whatever touches the Catholic Church is of interest to our people. They are grateful for whatever helps her mission. Whatever attacks her or offends her rightly brings grief to them as her children.

Thus we come to you, beloved priests and faithful, with this letter to strengthen your faith and buoy up your hope and enliven your love of the Church, which is love of Jesus Christ. Any offense against the Catholic Church is also an offense against Christ, our Lord and Redeemer.

Let us say first of all that the Church is One. This is the first mark of her resemblance to God Who founded her. The millions of souls in the world who glory in being true Catholics live the same supernatural life which Our Lord Jesus Christ won

for us. They heed the same voice that teaches revealed doctrine and propagates it throughout the centuries, feeling themselves linked to the same center of truth and life, the Chair of Peter. These millions of souls governed by the Roman Pontiff constitute, through their supernatural values and their spiritual freedoms, the most perfect and universal society throughout the centuries: God's family on earth. This is the Church that in the Credo we proclaim as "unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam."

Our Divine Saviour entrusted to the Church not only the preaching of the Gospel to the farthest boundaries of the earth, but also the defense of the supreme truth, at whatever sacrifice, even of life itself.

It is not man's word, however eloquent and persuasive, that gives victory to evangelical truth, because Jesus Christ has not built his Church upon the learned, doctors and philosophers, but upon the science of the Cross. This is what St. Paul states, saying: "For I am determined not to know anything among you except Jesus Christ and him crucified" (1 Cor. 2).

The reason of the Church's being, her essential mission, her most important right, which she cannot renounce, is that of teaching.

The Word of Jesus Christ indicates the essential mission of his Church: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name

of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 28, 19).

The Church, as has been well said, was divinely instituted to be the visible organ in the world of the invisible Word of God, the permanent echo of His voice. To her alone was assigned the right to teach with authority and in God's name the divine plans for mankind.

God's RIGHT

The right of the Church is God's right and she, like Him, imposes her own precepts upon men, institutions and peoples. The Church was not born out of a meeting of men called into assembly to give origin with their vote to a monarchy or a republic. God alone stands at the origin of the Church. God communicates to her His power, His authority and His sovereignty, so that a jurisdiction constituted by Him may be vigilant over the purity of dogma, against the prejudices of ignorance and the sophisms of pride, and so that it may maintain unchanged, in the face of the impact of human passions, the Christian ethic, which has been, and is, the foundation of an incomparable civilization in the history of humanity.

Solemn was the moment and profound the words when Our Lord Jesus Christ, in promising the primacy to Peter, started the foundation of the Church. To Peter, who confessed, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God," and who recognized and proclaimed His Divinity, Jesus Christ replied accepting his confession and proclaiming it as inspired by God. As master of the future, being God, He announced and promised the primacy of Peter; he was to be the indefectible cornerstone of the Church, that divine society of souls which, amidst the

changeable contingencies of the world, would possess the eternal firmness of Heaven, sharing in the natures of its Divine Founder, Who would survive in it as the source of its supernatural life of grace, truth and unity. "I say to you that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven" (Matt. 16, 18-19).

When men of His people and of His times rejected the Messiah whom God sent to redeem humanity and restore it to the supernatural order, Jesus Christ gave a prophetic warning which has been, and continues to be, inexorably fulfilled, like an unappealable decision confronting all powers of the earth: "Did you never read in the Scriptures: 'the stone which the builders rejected has become the cornerstone; by the Lord this has been done, and it is wonderful in our eyes'? Therefore I say to you that the kingdom of God will be taken from you and given to a people yielding its fruits. And he who falls on this stone will be broken to pieces and it will crush him to powder" (Matt. 21, 42-44).

It was the same Saviour Who, after having established His Church, indicated to her the program to be carried out, through the words addressed to his Apostles: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations."

The Church is not a philosophical system enclosed within a speculative world; neither is she a sect that lives isolated within the walls of a solitary temple; nor is she an organization

with an earthly political aim. She is a real and living organization whose spirit, doctrine and laws are destined to penetrate and vivify in a supernatural manner the human soul and society, so that there may be felt the power and loftiness of the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, by means of which the present life must be regulated to attain the eternal life, according to God's designs.

DIVINE CONSTITUTION

To accomplish the aim of the Church, which is to sanctify souls and bring them to their immortal destiny, God has given her the Gospel as her code—a code which she can neither add to, nor subtract from, a single word—with the mandate of seeing that this divine constitution, through which alone the Church is able to bring light and salvation to souls, is complied with, "Teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded."

The mission of the Church is not to preserve the Gospel simply as a great memento or a venerable relic; it would not have been necessary, if this were so, to accompany its foundation with glorious promises, or for Christ to choose the cornerstone of a structure, of which He himself outlined the plan and to which He gave Himself as the keystone so that it might defy the action of centuries.

The Church, without power and authority of her own upon souls to safeguard the trust of Truth revealed by God, could not have prevented the Gospel, as has happened in the dissident churches, from becoming a dead or contradictory word by being exposed to personal interpretations, varied and multiple like human concupiscence.

The survival of Christ in the world, after His sorrowful death on Calvary,

is identified with His work, the Church, which He left in the world as a society of mankind, with spiritual aims, with a doctrine entrusted to the preaching of an apostolic hierarchy founded upon a rock resistant to the clashes of the errors and passions of the world, Peter, for whom Christ potently prayed so that his faith should not fail, to whom he gave the keys of His divine kingdom and who, with crosier in hand, was constituted as universal shepherd of the Universal Kingdom of Jesus Christ, the Catholic Church.

It can be seen that both from the Church's aims, and from the very nature of this divine institution founded by Christ, there is need of freedom and independence from any other constituted power on earth. With admirable clarity, Pope Leo XIII in the encyclical *Immortale Dei* of November 1, 1885, teaches us: "This society (the Church), is made up of men, just as the civil society is, and yet it is supernatural and spiritual on account of the end for which it was founded, and of the means by which it aims at attaining that end. Hence it is distinguished and differs from civil society, and, what is of the highest moment, it is a society chartered as of divine right, perfect in its nature and in its title to possess in itself, and by itself, through the will and loving kindness of its Founder, all needful provision for its maintenance and action."

LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE FROM CIVIL POWER

Pius XI in his encyclical *Quas Pri-mas* of December 11, 1925, confirms this doctrine, saying: "The Church which was established by Christ as a perfect society cannot but demand as her right, a right which she cannot

renounce, full liberty and independence from the civil power. Moreover the Church, in the exercise of her divine ministry of teaching, ruling and guiding to eternal happiness all who belong to the Kingdom of Christ, manifestly cannot depend on the will of others."

This freedom was defended by the Apostles at the Synagogue (Acts 5, 29). It was upheld with stout reasons by the Holy Fathers and was set forth by the Roman Pontiffs. "Nay more, princes and all invested with power to rule have themselves approved it, in theory and in practice alike. It cannot be called in question that in the making of treaties, in the transaction of business matters, in the sending and receiving of ambassadors, and in the interchange of other kinds of official dealings, they have been wont to treat with the Church as with a supreme and legitimate power" (*Immortale Dei*).

Thus there may be understood the condemnation of the proposals 19 and 20 (set forth in the *Syllabus of Errors*) made by Pius IX in 1864: "(19) The Church is not a true and perfect society completely free . . . neither does it enjoy proper and perennial rights of its own, given by her divine Founder: but it is proper of civil society to define which are the rights of the Church and the limits within which it can exercise such rights"; "(20) The ecclesiastic power must not exercise its authority without the permission and consent of the civil power."

In the name of this holy freedom, proper to the children of God, the Church has exercised the rights which derive from the commandment: "Go forth and teach," and throughout the centuries has indicated the path toward the eternal aim, as well as all

that is connected with this same purpose, or which facilitates the attainment of joint or individual aspirations of Christian respect for its purpose.

FREEDOM IN TEACHING

The Church's right to teach with complete freedom is not, nor can it be, a delegated power, nor a gracious concession of any other human society, because it is born from the essence of the Church, whether this be studied or considered from a dogmatic aspect, or from a historical aspect.

Pius XI, in the encyclical *Divini illius magistri* of December 31, 1929, explains as follows the freedom of the Church in teaching: "In this proper object of her mission, that is, in faith and morals, God Himself has made the Church the sharer in the divine magisterium, and, by a special privilege, granted her immunity from error; hence she is the mistress of men, supreme and absolutely sure, and she has inherent in herself an inviolable right to freedom in teaching" (encyclical *Libertas*), and as "a necessary consequence, the Church is independent of any sort of earthly power as well in the origin as in the exercise of her mission as educator, not merely in regard to her proper end and object but also in regard to the means necessary and suitable to attain that end."

Time has confirmed the excellence and the noble responsibility of the Church in the teaching of doctrine and of Catholic morals. It has revealed the Church as an institution which, with great perseverance and efficacy, has spread the knowledge and elevation of the human person, developing, by means of the sciences, individual intelligence and collective progress.

From what we have said, there derives the conclusion that the Church

has the right freely to teach revealed truth, to practise freely its worship, to administer the Holy Sacraments and to freely exercise that activity which is naturally linked to the preservation and carrying out of its mission.

To the Church alone and to its hierarchy, Christ "entrusted the deposit of faith, so that she, with the perpetual assistance of the Holy Ghost, might faithfully preserve and expound the revealed doctrine" (Canon 1322, par. 1). Thus, "independently of any civil power whatsoever, the Church has the right and duty to teach all nations the evangelical doctrine: and all are bound by divine law to acquire a proper knowledge of this doctrine and to embrace the true Church of Christ" (Canon 1322, par. 2).

And likewise, "the education of all Catholics from childhood must be such that not only shall they be taught nothing contrary to the Catholic faith and good morals, but religious training shall occupy the principal place in the curriculum" (Canon 1372). By virtue of the mandate and of freedom of teaching, "the religious teaching of youth, in all schools whatsoever, is subject to the authority and inspection of the Church" (Canon 1381, par. 1).

Worthy of praise, therefore, is a harmonious cooperation between Church and State—each in its own sphere—so that in all schools the faithful may be taught the doctrine of Christ in an orthodox manner by the Church, and precisely only by those who receive their mandate from the Hierarchy. This was what happened in the Argentine schools with the reestablishment of religious instruction; and it is hoped that the understanding and good-will of those who govern will preserve this achievement, which is recognized as a necessity even in na-

tions distant from the Catholic Church.

Because her teaching mission is of divine origin, the Church cannot be denied or impeded in obtaining free access to modern means, such as the press, the radio, motion pictures, television, all so effective in spreading ideas and doctrines.

TEMPORAL GOODS

Finally, since the existence of the Catholic Church and of the Roman Apostolic See is by a positive divine right (Canon 100, par. 1), they have, in complete independence from any civil power, "an inherent right freely and independently of the civil power to acquire, keep and administer temporal goods for the prosecution of the proper purposes of the Church" (Canon 1495, par. 1); and as a natural consequence "the right, independently of civil power, to demand from the faithful the means necessary for conducting divine worship, for the decent maintenance of the clergy and other ministers, and for her other proper purposes" (Canon 1496).

The Argentine Civil Code, in article 33, reckons the Church among persons of juridical right and as among needed institutions. It acknowledges that it enjoys the right to possess and administer property, since it exists on earth and requires such for the exercise of its mission among men. The goods of this world are instruments for the material part of the mission of the Church. They are required for preaching and teaching and for the life of the Church's cultural and spiritual works aimed at the salvation of souls.

The Church is of yesterday, of today and shall be of tomorrow. Time passes, but she does not succumb. The men that are part of it die; however, she continues to subsist from one generation to another. In the glory whether

of peace, or of persecution or martyrdom, she revives her flame of truth and love, continuing to fulfill her program as savior of souls, surviving all sorrows to prove that she can match the great hates that fight her with the strength of the great loves that comfort her.

RESPECT FOR LAWFUL AUTHORITY

The Church teaches respect for legitimate authority and obedience to upright laws. She teaches that mixed questions that pertain to her as well as the State should be treated and solved in a friendly manner, so that out of upright and just solutions may spring a spiritual harmony indispensable to the well-being of a nation.

The Church embodies an eminently moralizing force, which is a safeguard against dangers that may threaten a people. The noble and constructive work she has already accomplished may well serve to tell us what she can do in the future. Under her protection and influence there are being wonderfully preserved good sense, a spirit of respect and order, and the fundamental virtues of men and of citizens.

Religious faith protects against the ravings of the spirit; a well formed conscience is a defense against wicked instincts; the fidelity of all to duty in general is best nourished in those who respond to Catholic doctrine and moral guidance.

The Church directly attends to a formation of the spirit, out of which emanates all the good or all the evil which man can perform. Laws are not the means to govern spirits and to strengthen customs. It is spiritual uprightness joined with strength of morals that guarantees the benefits of the laws, and that can be obtained if God is considered as the foundation of life.

The Church has not changed. Ever

faithful to the revealed doctrine that guides it and to the centuries-old discipline that governs it throughout the world, as well as to the impulse of the spirit that opened roadways through forests to the zeal of missionaries at the time of the conquest and evangelization of America, the Church inspired the faith of the founders of our nation. She brought forth schools and universities, multiplied centers of charity and culture throughout the territory of our motherland. She succeeded in establishing, as the most prized fruit of her fecund activity, the elevation and nobility of the Argentine soul, marked by the faith of Jesus Christ, which was received and taught exclusively in our land by the Catholic Church. This is the state of her service to the advantage of the motherland; this is her glorious and incontrovertible history.

That spirit subsists and flourishes in works that have gained the love and gratitude of our Catholic people and also the admiration of sister nations, as shown by the great and unforgettable event of the 32nd International Eucharistic Congress of 1934, in which our nation was able to display to the world, together with the abundance of its material wealth, the richness of a spirit imbued with Catholic faith. This is the spirit in which this nation is proud to have been born and formed under the shadow of the Cross of Christ, the herald of Christian civilization and the defender of its greatness.

However, Christian civilization, at present so threatened, is not merely a name or a remembrance. It contains a spiritual life which becomes robust and fruitful in the individual and social order only if it remains integrated with the Christ of the Gospel, without short-cuts or compromises with human passions.

Thus must live and act all who call themselves Catholics and who wish to remain united, in truth, with Jesus Christ, not by a simple admiration for the greatness of His personality, but by means of His grace and His truth, which cannot reach the human soul unless through the only channel established by the Divine Saviour himself, the teaching authority of the Church and the sanctifying Sacraments which the Church administers. Any other stand chosen by a Catholic, such, for example, that of a critic or supposed judge of the teachings and norms dictated by the hierarchic Church, would virtually and formally place him—according to the degree of obstinacy and of seriousness of such a conduct—in the ranks of dissidents and apostates.

THE SOCIAL FIELD

The Church has been accused of having lacked interest in, shown no concern over and accomplished nothing in, the social field. However, in its praise there is a document which we might call a forerunner, the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, under whose enlightened doctrine and stimulating impulse, we saw in the last half-century a renewal in many Christian countries of social legislation which, inspired by justice and charity, recognized and protected the dignity of the human person and the value of human labor.

The doctrine expounded in the said encyclical was incessantly taught among us by the Church, giving rise to the approval of provident laws and to the birth of generous and deserving works in this country. If these did not multiply in the form and breadth desired, that cannot be attributed to the Church, which did not have the neces-

sary means and conditions for this purpose.

There have been attempts to brand the action of the Church as suspicious although this work has unfolded in a purely spiritual sphere. The works she establishes, the associations she groups together, her peaceful apostolic undertakings—none of which are a threat to any modern conquest and which can be exhibited to the light of the sun—have been represented as means to exercise a temporal or political dominion. These are designs—and we must stress the statements—which are surely not those of the Church, which in its program and by means of its works seeks nothing but the salvation of souls, leaving the rest to the dispute of men.

We are called to attend, by virtue of our pastoral mission, to the Christian spirit of our people; we must enlighten and strengthen more and more this spirit in the unchangeable principles of Catholic truth, which reject the weakness of a confused and sentimental Christianity, in order to preserve the highest values of the national soul, threatened by an increasing materialism.

For this reason, we cannot remain silent before a) the prohibition of religious processions and of Catholic gatherings in the form, and in the public places, in which they have always been carried out in our country; b) the authorization enabling propagandists of dissident sects—who should be limited to the care of the followers of their own religious confession—henceforth to carry out with every facility and freedom their proselytism in official government institutions, where Catholics are indisputably predominant, attempting to persuade them to apostatize from the true Faith; c) the concession enabling

radio stations to broadcast dissident propaganda during various hours of the week, while authorization to broadcast Catholic radio programs is denied; and d) the removal of public officials from their posts for religious reasons. Our word of encouragement and of comfort goes out to those who, for such reasons, may have lost their years of service, their employment, their reputation and the means of support for their families, and to those who may have suffered imprisonment without having been proved guilty of any crime.

CHURCH AND COUNTRY

Using a familiar phrase, we can affirm that "we owe allegiance only to Church and country." We think of society as the Apostles did, seeking to make Jesus Christ live in it. In the midst of things that pass, in the movement of ideas that come and go we firmly embrace the only things that do not pass: Church and Country.

We believe in the Church, beloved children, because it transmits to us without weaknesses and alterations the message of Jesus Christ, in the light of Whose Word salvation is found, having worked the transformation of

the world without seeking the allurements of popularity.

The Church has increased its fruitful blessings upon each of the generations that have preceded us; it has blessed our fathers and our cradles, our joys and sorrows, our hopes and our life; a mother's blessings always holds happiness and peace.

Happy are the individuals and populations that receive it with love and faith, and so merit singular graces from God.

Thus we say to you together with St. Paul: "Watch, stand fast in the faith, act like men, be strong. Let all be done in charity" (1 Cor. 16, 13-14).

The sacred time of Lent in which we find ourselves must be a propitious circumstance so that increased prayer, together with penitence and sacrifices, be offered to God Our Lord for the intentions, needs and trials of Holy Church, whose children must fill themselves with the heroic, patient and victorious spirit which radiates from the Cross of Christ.

Imploring upon you every goodness, we bless you in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

THE CATHOLIC MIND

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